

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XLI - 1992



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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Volume 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry de Vocht from 1928 to 1961 as a series of monographs on the history of humanism at Louvain, especially in the *Collegium Trilingue*. These volumes are obtainable in a reprint edition.

Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher: *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

Librarians who wish for an exchange with *Humanistica Lovaniensia* should apply to the Librarian of the University Library of Leuven (K.U.L.): Dr. J. Roegiers, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ladeuzeplein 22, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

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*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België,
van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap — Ministerie van Onderwijs
en van de Fakulteit der Letteren K. U. Leuven.*

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ISBN 90-6186-516-6
D/1992/1869/31
ISSN 0774.2908

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Jozef IJSEWIJN
With G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, Line IJsewijn-Jacobs,
and Monique Mund-Dopchie.

LITTERAE AD CRANEVELDIUM
BALDUINIANAE
A Preliminary Edition.

1. Letters 1-30
(March 1520 - February 1521)
Edited by J. IJSEWIJN and G. TOURNOY

1. Previous History

About 20 May, 1989, I got a telephone call from my friend Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen, the well-known Thomas More scholar of Düsseldorf. He sounded rather excited and for a moment I did not quite grasp what he wanted. It had something to do with Cranevelt and that was why I thought he was speaking of the documents published and later on bequeathed to our University Library by my predecessor Hendrik de Vocht. Soon, however, it began to dawn upon me that he was referring to something else, something hard to believe and certainly totally unexpected, viz. a completely unknown new bundle of *Litterae ad Craneveldium*, which he had seen in London just a few days before. And could I perhaps find the money to rescue them?

Here, of course, was something big and, for the study of Northern humanism, tremendously important. In fact, in the strongroom of Christie's, the famous auctioneers in London, 117 entirely unknown documents lay hidden and were soon to be put up for public auction. Among them over thirty new letters by J. L. Vives, seven by Thomas More, one by Erasmus and several by Geldenhouwer, Vecerius, Barlandus, Fevynus *et al.* How they had got there Christie's was not at all willing to disclose. However, there could be no doubt that the new bundle originally belonged together with those in our library: Cranevelt

had put a single continuous numbering on his collected letters and so it can be shown that a letter of Thomas More among the new ones is a missing one of the old collection.

The auction was scheduled for 21 June 1989. Hardly a month was left to raise what was in fact a huge sum of money: the bundle was estimated £ 180.000-250.000 in Christie's catalogue published only a few days before the auction¹ and the firm flatly refused to sell the documents before the auction at a reasonable price. Now, if one wants to acquire a football player such sums are easily found. But what if one proposes to buy an unsightly packet of old scribbled paper, without even a trace of a miniature or drawing which might interest T.V. people and other representatives of our visual culture? No sponsor can waste his money for that!

In consultation with Prof. Schulte Herbrüggen and our common friend Joseph Trapp, the then director of the Warburg Institute in London, I immediately informed our head librarian, Prof. Jan Roegiers, who in turn contacted our colleague Maurits Sabbe, the much experienced founder-librarian of our new theology library. Soon enough it became clear that neither our University Library nor the University of Louvain itself could afford to spend such a huge amount of money at so short notice. For some time the possibility was considered of making a kind of pool of interested libraries in Belgium, Great Britain and even the U.S.A., but it did not work. Scholarly libraries are very short of money everywhere in the world and no resources are left for such luxuries as humanist letters.

When we were all driven to utter despair of ever being able to rescue the bundle, Prof. Sabbe thought of one last possibility: the Belgian cultural Foundation in Brussels that bears the name of our king: *Koning Boudewijn Stichting — Fondation Roi Baudouin*. There a special committee had been established and, very recently, well provided with funds the purpose of which it is to rescue valuable documents, works of art, etc., which are vitally important parts of our cultural heritage. We still had a week or so. Unfortunately, the chairman of the committee responsible, Prof. Ph. Robert-Jones (Brussels-ULB), was travelling

¹ *Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts Including a Portolan Chart, Early Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents, Literary and Musical Manuscripts Including an Important Humanist Archive and the Collection of Nelson and Hamilton Belonging to Edwin Wolf 2nd* (Part I)...Which will be sold at Christie's Great Rooms on Wednesday 21 June 1989 at 10.30 a.m. precisely (London 1989), pp. 82-90.

abroad. I got him on the telephone on his return home on the night of Saturday, 17 June. And here it is only fitting to salute the support and efficiency of our Brussels colleague and the members of his committee: they met in Brussels on the morning of Tuesday, 20, and voted to allow a bid of up to £ 310.000. This permission was sent immediately by fax to London where a Belgian antiquarian bookseller who had been sent ahead in case the money was found was waiting for it. On the Wednesday morning this man, notwithstanding a strike of the London public transport, got to Christie's in time and succeeded in acquiring the treasure for the sum of £ 280.000.

Since the Belgian Foundation buys objects, but does not keep them in its own custody, the next step was to decide on a suitable place where the letters could be safely and professionally kept and made available to the scholarly world. A special committee with representatives of all the Belgian Universities was convened under the chairmanship of Prof. Michel Didisheim (Louvain-la-Neuve), member of the Foundation's Board of Directors. Its members are, apart from myself, F. Bierlaire (Liege), † R. Crahay (Mons), A. Gerlo (Brussels VUB), A. d'Haenens (Louvain-la-Neuve), J. Paquet (Brussels-S.Louis), Ph. Roberts-Jones, A. Uyttebroeck (Brussels ULB), M. Van Uytfanghe (Ghent) and H. Vervliet (Antwerp). In a meeting at Brussels on 26 February 1990 — at which we could see the letters for the first time — it was unanimously decided to reunite the new bundle of letters with the old ones in the University Library at Louvain. The University of Louvain thereupon undertook to have the damaged documents restored by experts in paper and book-repair, to keep the letters in adequate and safe conditions on behalf of the Foundation, to publish the texts and to put them at any time at the disposal of interested scholars. On 22 May 1990 Mr. D. Allard, director, and Mr. H. Stijnen, attaché of the Foundation, brought the documents to the University Library. During an academic ceremony on 26 October 1990 in the Library they were officially entrusted to the University by the chairman of the Foundation, Mr. H. Kinsbergen. On the following day — Erasmus' birthday — an international conference was held in the Academies' Building in Brussels to discuss the pressing problems of the safeguarding of Europe's cultural patrimony. A selection of letters was put on display in the Nassau Chapel of the Royal Library in Brussels until December, and that exhibition has been repeated in Bruges in the spring of 1991.

To distinguish the new letters from the *Litterae ad Craneveldium*

published by De Vocht and to honour the Foundation which made their rescue possible, we decided to call them the *Litterae ad Craneveldium Balduiniana*. Their restoration has been completed under the supervision of Mr. Chris Coppens (Louvain University Library) and the work of their editing is being carried on vigorously in the *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae* of the Louvain Faculty of Letters. Two documents have already been printed separately, viz.

— letter 26, written by Vives to Cranevelt on 20 December 1520, published in facsimile, with transcription and translation in both Dutch and French in the brochures *De Cranevelt Correspondentie / La Correspondance Cranevelt*, published by the Foundation on the occasion of the Brussels conference and exhibition. The edition and Dutch translation were prepared by myself, the French translation by Monique Mund-Dopchie (Louvain-la-Neuve).

— letter 49, from More to Cranevelt (8 November 1528), edited by H. Schulte Herbrüggen, "Seven New Letters From Thomas More", *Moreana* xxvii 103 (1990), 49-66.

Furthermore, an unknown seal used by Thomas More has been published by J. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet and More: the Early Tudor Humanists and Their Books*, The Panizzi Lectures 1990 (London, The British Library, 1991), pp. 75-76.

Finally, copies of the More letters were put at the disposal of Prof. Schulte Herbrüggen, who is working on the critical edition of More's Correspondence, and of Prof. Clarence Miller (St. Louis, Missouri), who is in charge of the Yale Edition of the Works of St. Thomas More.

* * *

At the end of this "previous history" it behoves me to express profound gratitude to all those who in one way or another have contributed to save the Cranevelt letters from imminent dispersion and from their disappearance into some millionaire's or autograph hunter's private collections and, in so doing, have brought them back to their place of origin, to Louvain, where many of them were written or were sent, and where for almost five hundred years they had miraculously survived the disasters of so many wars and other catastrophes.

2. About this Edition.

Professor De Vocht toiled for more than fifteen years at the deciphering, interpretation and publication of his *Litterae ad Craneveldium*. This seems to be a long time, but on consideration it is not. One has to bear in mind that at the time professors at Louvain had a teaching burden of twenty or more hours a week. Moreover, he had to do all the breaking of new ground and had nobody on whom to rely or even to consult with. If we are able to publish the *Balduinianae* in a shorter period of time, as we hope, it will in part be because we can now rely on the results of De Vocht's labours, and in part because we do not have to do it alone.

The deciphering of the letters is the first and often most daunting task of the editor. In a collection of letters each writer has his own peculiar handwriting, and some excel at illegible scribbling. In this respect Cranevelt deserves a place of honour. In letter 62 Vives bluntly tells him that he cannot read his "cock's scrawl": *qui interdum gallinaeo more pingas ut non aliter tua manus legenda sit quam voces avium a Melampode vel Democrito intelligendae*. But Cranevelt is certainly not the only scrawling cock in the collection; in fact he could sometimes well have flung the accusation at Vives himself (who, fortunately, often uses the clearer hand of a secretary). In many letters mice and other destructive agents have irretrievably destroyed letters, words or even whole sentences. Sometimes a careful reading allows one to restore with a fair degree of certainty the lost parts, but in other cases this is impossible. In any case the textual (re)constitution cannot be done in a hurry. One has to go back again and again to certain passages, ask also the advice of other experts in palaeography, look at faded letters with the help of a lamp, etc. until finally the correct reading or probable reconstruction begins to dawn upon the reader.

The deciphering cannot be separated from the interpretation: if one does not understand the text, the danger of a false reading is very real. Too many individual letters and letter groups — such as U/V and N, M and NI or IN, MI and NU, etc. — are hardly distinguishable by themselves. Especially in proper names it is hard to decide what is the correct reading if one does not know the person or the place. In his letters De Vocht three times read the name of an unknown person as Encollius. In letter 2 of our collection Vives mentions the same man, but fortunately was moved to write the name in Greek characters:

Εὐκολλίος. Since the Greek U and N are quite different, there is no doubt any more that the name was Eucollius, one of the humanist versions of Goethals, the name of a well-known family in 16th century Bruges and Ghent.

A major obstacle to the interpretation of the letters is the fact that most of the time we only have one half of the information: many letters are, indeed, answers to lost letters; others react to oral communications and discussions which we do not know. It is our good luck that Cranevelt kept his letters in strict order of reception, quite often marking on them the date of delivery. His numbering allows us to date, at least approximately, each document, many of which are undated or at least lacking the year. Without Cranevelt's care a correct assessment would have been very difficult, if not impossible in many cases. At the same time it shows what the consequences of the dispersal of the bundle would have been for the historical value of the single pieces.

We have tried to explain in detail and as far as it is possible the contents of each letter and to show their general context and coherence. We are well aware of the fact that more remains to be done and that we could not dispel every last trace of darkness or track down every single source. That is one of the reasons why we decided not to delay the publication of the whole bundle until everything was perfectly clear. Another reason was that we wanted to put as many documents as possible as soon as possible at the disposal of the scholarly world. We know that it must be frustrating to many to know that over thirty letters of Vives are lying unpublished at a time of rapidly increasing interest in the Spanish humanist. Therefore, we shall bring out in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* a provisional edition in two or three batches before we embark upon the final edition. "Provisional" does not mean that the texts printed now are far from certainly established; it means only that the notes can still be augmented and that a full description of all external details of the document is not yet given. Such details, however, as have a bearing upon the establishing of the text, such as additions, rewritings, cancellations, lacunae, will be noticed even now. We shall also indicate the places where we are not entirely sure of the correct reading. We hope that for the final edition we shall be able to make use of the critical remarks made by readers of this edition. In that final edition we shall also bring out, if not an entirely new edition of *De Vocht*, at least a supplement of corrections and additions to the *Litterae ad Craneveldium*.

The edition of the *Balduiniana*, as I have said, will not be the work of one person. From the outset several of us have shared the burden: apart from my wife and myself, Gilbert Tournoy (Louvain), Dirk Sacré (Antwerp), Hubertus Schulte-Herbrüggen (Düsseldorf), who closely scrutinised the More letters, and Monique Mund-Dopchie (Louvain-la-Neuve), who takes care of the Greek passages and letters in particular. Furthermore, palaeographical advice was provided for a number of difficult passages by Chris Coppens and Marc Nelissen, staff members of, respectively, Louvain University Library and the University Archives. Historical help from Jan Roegiers enriched our notes.

Of the letters published here most of items 1-25 were first read by G. Tournoy, the remaining ones by Mrs. Line IJsewijn-Jacobs. I myself went through all of them again systematically and established the critical text. I have also prepared the introduction, summaries and notes. The whole dossier was subsequently submitted to the criticism of G. Tournoy and J. Roegiers. With the help of their corrections and comments I completed the final version of the edition printed hereafter. Finally, our English has been corrected and improved by Mr. Ronald W. Truman, Christ Church College, Oxford, to whom we are most grateful for his interest and help.

* * * * *

The work on the edition and annotation of the new Cranevelt letters has led me to another interesting discovery, namely a volume of two Venetian incunables² which originally belonged to J. L. Vives. They are still in their original binding of about 1500, as Mr. Coppens tells me. On the title-page of the first one (*Epytoma Joannis De Monte Regio in Almagestum Ptolomei*) four owner's entries are preserved, three handwritten, the fourth stamped. They are:

1. JO. LODO. VIVIS. VALEN.
2. Ferd. de Salinas. R. C. in P. C. C. 1590.
3. Collegii Societatis Jesu Tornaci
4. Sem./ Prov. Belg./ S.J.

On the recto side of the first fly-leaf another name is written in tiny letters: Joanni Aloysio Vivi. It may be the name of Vives's father or of

² Hain 13806 (1496, printed by Johannes Hamman de Landoia, dictus Hertzog) and 11748 (dated 30th September 1498 and printed by Simon Papiensis dictus Bevilaqua).

one of his uncles, both of them called Luis Vives. Aloysius is another rendering of the name Luis (and the Italian Luigi) for which Vives obviously preferred Lodovicus.

The second item in the volume contains, under the title *Georgio Valla Placentino Interprete* a series of Latin translations of Aristoteles (*Magna Moralia, De coelo, Poetica*), Galenus, Alexander Aphrodisiensis and other Greek and Arab scientific authors. On top of the page someone, possibly Vives himself, added a title in capitals: *Varia variorum Graecorum priscorum Opuscula*. In the volume itself only a very few marginal notes, mostly single words, can be found.

Louvain, 15th February 1992.

Jozef IJsewijn

Editorial Note on the Present Edition.

We have carefully reproduced the text of the original manuscripts maintaining each author's spelling and correcting only a few quite obvious errors. These corrections are mentioned in the footnotes. The 'e caudata' which is used frequently in most letters has been resolved into either 'oe' or 'ae' depending on the classical spelling of the word. For the convenience of the reader u and v have been distinguished and ij has been written as ii. We have left the Greek words as they are found in the originals because they illustrate the degree of knowledge of the language, or lack of it, among Vives and his friends who were trying hard to learn Greek.

For punctuation we have used our own discretion in order to clarify the sense of the text to modern readers.

Diacritical signs used in the texts:

< > marks an expanded abbreviation, or the addition of a letter inadvertently omitted by the author.

[] indicates a lacuna in the text and letters or words conjecturally supplied.

[[]] author's cancellations.

// marks the beginning of a new page of the manuscript.

Abbreviations and sigla:

ASD = Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami *Opera Omnia recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1969-, in progress).

Allen = P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen and H. W. Garrod (eds.), *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1958).

- CE = P. G. Bietenholz with Th. B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1985-1987).
- Daxhelet = E. Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus, humaniste belge, 1486-1538*, HL 6 (Louvain, 1938).
- Gachard = M. Gachard, *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas*. 2 vols. (Brussels 1874).
- HCT = H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, 4 vols., HL 10-13 (Louvain 1951-1955).
- HL = *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* (Louvain).
- LB = *D. Erasmi Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Clericus, 10 vols. (Leiden 1703).
- Lit. Cran. = H. de Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528*, HL 1 (Louvain, 1928)
- NK = Nijhoff W.-Kronenberg M. E., *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 8 vols. (The Hague, 1923-1971).
- ThLL = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig 1900-, in progress).

Ep. 1. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

2 (f.6)

Received by Cranevelt on 6 III 1520

Answer to a letter of Cranevelt concerning problems in the Valdaura household. Because of the long and serious illness of Bernardo, Vives suggests that Cranevelt consult not him but his wife (Clara Cervent) and mother-in-law, both very reliable women. Vives is writing in a hurry because Cranevelt's brother-in-law said that a man was leaving for Bruges in half a hour and could take this letter to Bruges.

S.P. Tuae epistolae iustae iusta etiam mea epistola respondi. Nunc epistolium mihi est abs te redditum de rebus communis amici¹. Qui si magis valens vigensque esset, ei potius vellem assentireris quam uxori et socru. Sed vereor ne morbus perpetuus cum perpetuo infortunio in ea
 5 aetate mentem alioqui firmissimam nonnihil conturbarent, ne ipse satis suis in rebus consilium expedire possit. Quocirca commodius erit foeminas audire, quibus quamdiu est creditum, illa domus habuit melius. Quaeso te, mi Noviomage, consule boni hanc meam fiduciam de singulari probitate tua et vetere amicitia nostra. Haec scribo raptim,
 10 quoniam frater² uxoris t[ua]e dixit mihi esse quendam, qui intra semihorulam ingrediatur iter istuc, alias more meo prolixius. Sed manum meam timeo ne male legas.

Vale. Lovanii.

Tuus ubique Lodo <vicus> Vives

A tergo:

15 Eruditiss <imo> iuris consulto / Francisco Noviomago / Pensionario Brugensi.

Craneveldi manu:

Recepta vi. martii anno 1520.

¹ Bernardo Valdaura. See letter 2 (p. 14, n. 8).

² Viz. Cornelis van Baussele. See letter 2 (p. 14, n. 10).

Ep. 2 J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

1 (ff. 1-2)

7 III < 1520 >

Because of its position on top of the whole bundle, this letter has suffered very great damage and loss of text. The right side is badly worn, especially the lower half of it. Moreover the right half of the sheet is covered with soot which cannot be removed without destroying the remaining traces of ink underneath. Even with the help of an ultra-violet lamp many words remain completely illegible.

This letter is clearly the one from which Valerius Andreas in the 17th century copied the famous passage about Vives's request that he be allowed to lecture on the *Somnium Scipionis* in his course and the ridiculous reaction of the Academic Senate of Louvain University. See *Lit. Cran.* 2 and our lines 23-24. It is now clear that De Vocht was entirely right in assigning the letter to March 1520.

The first and heavily damaged part of the letter seems to be a second reaction of Vives to some news from Cranevelt concerning their friend Nicolaus Eucollius. An earlier reaction must have been misunderstood at Bruges. "Eucollius" and "Eutrachelus" are humanist renderings of Goethals, the Flemish name of a distinguished family which had branches in Ghent and Bruges in the 16th century. In *Lit.Cran.* 78.20 (31 October 1523), 182.15 (22 March 1526) and 243.14-19 (21 July 1527), all written to Cranevelt by Vives's good friend Fevynus, a *Nicolaus Eucollius medicus* is mentioned. De Vocht read the name as *Encollius*, but he was obviously a victim of Fevynus's indistinguishable U and N, whereas in Vives's letter the Greek *Upsilon* and *Nu* cannot be confused. From Fevynus we learn that in 1523 Eucollius was in London with Thomas More. He was still there in 1526, together with Vives at that time, but his prospects had become less promising because of a change of mind on the part of some persons: the English had promised him much but in the end were unreliable. On 21 July 1527 he was back in Bruges, maybe on the occasion of Wolsey's mission to the continent. The new letter of Vives refers to an enviable position (in England??) Eucollius is seeking with such great pains that Vives compares him to the mythical Sisyphus. Vives goes on then with some moralising reflexions about doctors, illness and ignorance, quoting the famous Greek physician Galen who said that ignorance had killed more men than the plague. This reference, although heavily damaged, is interesting and puzzling at the same time. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text appeared only five years after this letter, namely in Venice at the Aldus Press in the summer of 1525. Vives, therefore, was relying on a medieval or an early humanistic Latin version. Since the thirteenth century several works of Galen had been translated by Italian scholars and some of them such as the *Ars Medica* or *Microtechnie* circulated widely. Readers of Thomas More will remember that it is one of the Greek books brought by Hythlodæus to Utopia. See the edition by E. Surtz, S.J. and J.H. Hexter in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 4 (Yale U. P., 1965), p. 182, ll. 7-8. Humanist translators before the date of this letter

are Georgius Valla from Piacenza (see above, General Introduction, p. 8) and the Englishman Thomas Linacre. We have tried in vain to track down Vives's quotation. It seems not to occur in Galen. Did Vives make a mistake?

In the next paragraph Vives tries to put Cranevelt at his ease: Vives had shown his letter(s) to Cardinal de Croy and now Cranevelt fears lest his good name (as a writer) may suffer in the Cardinal's eyes. A man of the purple, Vives seems to say, does not care greatly for (humanistic) style. After some related reflexions on learned men who lose all their confidence when they have to speak before noble men of such eminence, even though in the classroom they are brilliant, Vives comes to his *Somnium* experience and concludes that there is much to laugh at in the University of Louvain. His conclusion is confirmed by a stupid performance of a French jurist, a real "iurisperditus" and "iurisconstultus", he says, rather than a "iurisperitus" and "iurisconsultus".

The last part of the letter repeats Vives' viewpoint on the situation of the Valdaura family, already communicated in letter 1, and mentions that Erasmus is in Antwerp. Vives will write to him the next day.

Greetings to [...]us. An enigmatic sentence on "mei consules" (the Louvain burgomasters??), furious drinkers, closes the letter.

Because of the heavy damage of the first leaf we preserved the lines of that part of the manuscript in the printed edition.

Lodovicus Vives S. D. Francisco Noviomago suo.

1. Dolet me tam inepte scripsisse, ut a doctissimo et [prudētissimo?]
2. hom[i]ne nequiverim intelligi, alias fore si quid antecr(??)[]
3. Nicolao Εὐκ[ο]λλίῳ nostro; si quod piscatur, fuerit n[.]actus(?)[licet ei?]
4. invidere, ὃ δαιμόνιον ἀνδρὰ καὶ δοξώτατον πολυστορα(!). Ἀλλὰ πρίν
5. το τοῦ ἐυροῦ¹ miseret ² me illius, non minus quam Sisyphi! Eum salu[ta]
6. meis verbis, qui est re vera mihi amicissimus, et qui pro meo [bono?]
7. operam bonam et plane amicam navavit, dicesque ei si eu[m]??... ali-]
8. cuius [[dei]] tragici dei, quod vestigat invenerit, ne velit nos retaliare]
9. est ne invidet nobis, ut nos ipsi, ex Galeno³ velle..... te hoc [ni]hil

¹ In the left margin a Latin translation of the Greek words partly remains legible: O felicem virum et gloriosissimum / ... sed priusquam hoc / ... inveniat.

² miseret *scripsimus* niseret *ms.*

³ Source not yet ascertained. See introduction above.

10. est quod mirere. Nam medici sanandos susceperunt homin[es] put[antes?]
11. parvum esse morbum ignorantiam! Tantus est, ut quum in medicis, inq[uit,]
12. invalescit, plures homines occidat, quam quaevis pestis. Quod ostendi
13. litteras tuas Cardinali⁴ meo, putas te in aleam existimationis ei [con-]
14. iectum eventumque rei metuis. Τί φης; νομίζεις πορφυρίδα πρ[
15. Γραμματά τι ράπτειν; πῶς οὐ δέδιας ἵνα στομφάζω τήν ὥρα[ν τήν]
16. ἐμήν. Τινος ἄλλου σὺ καὶ μοῦ ὅμοια. Ego vero, mi Noviomage, [eo]
17. magis quo impensius demiror multorum doctorum hominum dicta qu[i ora-]
18. turi apud istos, aut erudite legum verba facturi concidunt animis, [at]
19. eadem in scholis faciant mira dexteritate; existimo e[os]
20. doctos, tamen omnem sapientiam ... aut vilis illis et omnis p[rudencia??]
21. arbitrari καὶ εἰς ὃ ἡμετερος ἀληθὲς ἀριστός τε καὶ μηδ[εις?]
22. καλὸς ἔστιν⁵. Sed de aliis loquor, deque hoc genere e[tiam]
23. Lovanienses nostri sunt, qui solent. Volui animi mei gratia [enar-]
24. rare hic publice Somnium Scipionis et petii [veniam]
25. superio[ris]; nomen non teneo, homo est bene crassu[s. Rector]
26. et alii quidam deputati simulac audierunt Somnium, riserunt []
27. Credo quod perfundebantur magna laetitia, quum So[mnium, delicias suas,]
28. in quibus tanta cum voluptate versantur, no[minari audiebant.]
29. Tum iusserunt me ire ad eam facultatem, cuius est libe[r enarrandus.]
30. Heri quum senatus ille sanctus haberetur, novus [ad Patres]
31. retulit de facultate Somnii, variisque sententiis et con[certationibus]
32. ille dies extractus est, multique alii in ea consultatione [consumuntur]
33. cuiusnam facultatis sit Somnium. Nonne ista cu[i accidunt, insaniant;]

⁴ Guillaume de Croy, archbishop of Toledo since 1517 and previously of Cambrai.

⁵ In the left margin is a barely legible Latin translation: optimusque...ineptus est.

// qui spectat, suaviter rideat? Crede mihi, multa est in hac schola
 35 ridendi materia. Vel pridie carnisprivii disputavit hic Gallus quidam⁶ de
 iure civili in foro. Non poterat exhiberi spectaculum illi tempori aptius
 convenientiusque quam <quod> ille nobis exhibuit in gymnasio litte-
 rario. Nullum in vita mea vidi veriolem iuris et perditum et constul-
 tum⁷.

40 De Valdaura nostro⁸ iam respondi tibi epistolio quodam⁹, quod ad
 te perferendum dedi Cornelio¹⁰ uxoris tuae fratri. Si is bene valeret,
 assentiendum illi potius ducerem. Sed quando et continuo afflicatur
 morbo et aetate exacta est, non dubito quin perturbatione aliqua suis in
 45 rebus agatur transversus. Quocirca satius erit uxorem et socrum audire,
 quae prudentes sunt foeminae multu[m]que in illa domo aliis in rebus
 viderunt. Quarum autoritas aliquid apud Bernardum ipsum si valuis-
 set, profecto in calamitatem hanc tantam dumtaxat numquam incidis-
 set.

Sed praeterita repraehendi fa<ci>lius possunt quam corrigi. Haec
 50 ipse quidem de tota re sentio, tu etiam iudicium tuum velim adhibeas.
 Mihi enim summe gr[ati]ficaberis, si feceris quod e re domus illius tibi
 futurum vide[bitur].

Erasmus est Antverpiae. Cras scripturus sum ad eum¹¹. Saluta
 [Laurin]um¹² tuis verbis. Mei consules omnes sunt Romani, seditiosi,
 55 coniura[tio]nis principes, iuvenes bibuli, furiosi; ab huius enim notae
 hominibus regimur.

Vale, Lovanii Nonis Martiis.¹³

Vives ex animo tuus.

A tergo: Eruditiss<imo> viro Francisco / Noviomago iuris consultis-
 60 s<imo>, / Pensionario oppidi Brugensis.

⁶ Vives tells more about this Frenchman in letter 7 of 29 March. There he calls him Sulpicius or Aquilius, no doubt nicknames, since both Sulpicius and Aquilius are names of famous jurists mentioned by Cicero: *Brut.* 154; *De Off.* II 50; *Fam.* 4.1 etc.

⁷ a pun on 'iurisperitum' and 'iurisconsultum'. It is repeated in letter 7.

⁸ Bernardo Valdaura was suffering from syphilis. For a description of his illness and the care bestowed on him by his wife Clara Cervent and her mother, see Vives, *De Inst. Fem. Christ.*, ed. Mayansius, t. IV, pp. 196-198. He died in Jan. 1521. See Ep. 38.

⁹ Our letter num. 1, which Cranevelt received on 6 March.

¹⁰ Cornelis van Baussele.

¹¹ Letter not preserved.

¹² Only the end of the name survives. It could be [Fevyn]um as well.

¹³ The year is 1520, as can be deduced from Erasmus' sojourn in Antwerp and from Cranevelt's dating of letter 1.

Ep. 3. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

3 (f.7)

22 III <1520>

Vives apologizes to Cranevelt for not answering his two letters now. He is too busy preparing some works for the press, which have to be sent to Antwerp. Even his secretary is completely exhausted because of the excessive load of work of recent days. But shortly he will be relaxed again.

Vives Cranaveldio suo.

Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀπάντων σὲ δέομαι,¹ mi Cranaveldi[[e]], feras aequo animo, quod binis litteris tuis nunc non respondeo. Tabellarius enim, quum nocte hac reddiderit tuas litteras, cras dixit se abiturum hinc pene
 5 antequam surgat²; et mihi nocte hac hisque sequentibus diebus tribus aut quattuor recognoscenda³ sunt quaedam mea opera, quae excuduntur Antverpiae⁴; quae, ut spero, videbis ante finem proximae ebdomadis. At amanuensis meus aegrotat labore, quo superioribus eum exercui diebus. Alias, idest ante dies quattuor videbis, quam nugabor iam.

10 Nunc ignosce, quaeso, εἰμὶ γὰρ μετέωρος ὅλος.⁵

Vale et epistolam hanc pro arrabone proximae⁶ accipe.

Lovanii, xxii martii.

A tergo: Eruditiss<imo> iustitiae consul/to Francisco Crana/veldio,
 Pensionario / Brugensi.

¹ In the left margin a (clumsy) Latin translation of the Greek words: "id est, per deum omnium te indigeo."

² Unless we understand that the man said he would be leaving almost before he rises from his bed something like "sol" (the sun) must be missing here.

³ Vives inadvertently wrote "recognoscenda".

⁴ These works are *Somnium et vigilia, et alia nonnulla* (Antwerp, Joh. Thibault, April 1520): NK 4065. Vives committed another error and wrote "excunduntur".

⁵ Translated in the left margin as: "sum enim sublimis totus."

⁶ Vives fulfilled his promise with the long letter of 29 March. See our nr. 7: "Solutior sum aliquanto..."

Ep. 4. Adrianus Barlandus (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

4. (f.9)

3 IV <1520>

Barlandus is delighted to receive Cranevelt's last letter and confirms their profound reciprocal attachment. He has almost finished his augmented biography of Charles the Bold and a shorter life of Charles's father, Philip.

This piece of information proves that Barlandus' *Libelli tres* containing the *Carolus Burgundus*, published at Antwerp by Michael Hillen in "January 1520", are dated according to the Easter style. They must, therefore, be placed in January 1521 (Contrast Daxhelet, p. 100, and NK 232).

Barlandus further informs Cranevelt that he is privately tutoring five young men of respectable families and depends upon Cranevelt for increasing that number. This is the first precise information about the number of Barlandus' pupils after he resigned as a professor of Latin in the *Collegium Trilingue* on 30 November 1519. Daxhelet (pp. 16-21) gives a list of names for the preceding and following years and thinks the pupils very numerous. This estimate, it seems, must now be qualified. Among the five may have been George and Philip, sons of the Count of Egmont.

On the author of this letter see E. Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus, humaniste belge, 1486-1538*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 6 (Louvain 1938); *CE* I, pp. 95-96.

Posterioribus litteris tuis, doctissime Craneveldi, it[a] sum delectatus, ut ex quo legere Latine didici, nihil unquam maiore cum voluptate legerim. Agnovi in hiis veterem tuam erga litterarum studiosos humanitatem. Agnovi tuum in me studium singulare, cui utinam vel munusculo
5 aliquo chartaceo vel officio respondere possem! Ne punctum quidem temporis differrem ostendere ac declarare nihil esse in hac Lovanien-
sium schola tui amantius Barlando.

Nostrum de Caroli rebus gestis opusculum auctum et pluribus locu-
pletatum capitibus eo perduxī, Christo iuvante, ut brevi sperem absolu-
10 tum iri. Accessit et patris eius Philippi vita, sed brevior erit hec
lucubratio.

De statu meo ut aliquid etiam tibi scribam: doceo hic privatim, et
sunt mihi discipuli numero quinque, omnes honeste nati adolescentes.
Rogo si quid isthinc ex tua commendatione tuaque diligentia huic
15 numero impari possit accedere atque adiici, memineris tui Barlandi.

Vale, humanissime D<omine> N[oster].¹ Scribam posthac sepius,
maxime quoc[iescumque] de novis rebus oblatum erit argum[entum].

Lovanii, 3^o Nonas Apriles,

Tue Celsitudini addictiss<imus>

20

[Barlandus]

A tergo: Ornatiss<imo> Viro et / Sacratissimarum Legum / Doctori
M<agistro> Francisco / Craneveldio, Primo / Secretario
oppidi Brugensis.

Ep. 5. G. Geldenhouwer (Wijk bij Duurstede)
to Fr. Cranevelt (Nijmegen)

5. (f.10)

16 IV 1520

This letter was sent to Cranevelt on the occasion of the latter's visit to Nijmegen, Cranevelt's native town. Two months earlier Geldenhouwer had sent a letter to Bruges from Utrecht: it is our letter 6, which Cranevelt had not received at the time. With that letter two others had been sent to be forwarded to Master Laurentius de Aula and Lord John of Burgundy at Rome. Geldenhouwer gives news about his Greek studies and his last whereabouts: for six months he has been accompanying his bishop (Philip of Burgundy) to Overijssel. Since he cannot get free he asks Cranevelt to pay him a visit either at Duurstede or at Tiel or Rhenen. The painter Mabuse has adorned Duurstede castle in a marvellous way and many noblemen, among them Henry III of Nassau, governor of Holland, have already come to see it. Geldenhouwer sends greetings to Cranevelt's wife and mother and to all their friends. Finally, he asks Cranevelt to inquire about archaeological finds under the old chapel of the castle at Nijmegen.

On Geldenhouwer (Nijmegen 1482 — Marburg/Lahn 1542) see *CE* II, pp. 82-84; I. P. Bejczy, "Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen: *Epistola de officio christiani principis* (1538); *Enchiridion principis ac magistratus christiani* (1539)", *HL* 40 (1991), 168-205. On bishop Philip see J. F. M. Sterck, *Philips van*

¹ The letter of N[oster] is uncertain. Only its upper part survives at the torn edge of the sheet. In the next sentence 'quoc[ies]' or, possibly, quoc[iescumque] can be restored on the basis of a parallel text in *Lit. Cran.* 256 (= Daxhelet, p. 309): "Quociens ad Craneveldium ... aliquid scripturiens..."

Bourgondië, 1456-1524, Bisschop van Utrecht als protagonist van de Renaissance. Zijn leven en maecenaat (Zutphen 1980).

S. P. A Gruythusio¹ nihil litterarum accepi. Quidam Traiectensis civis Brugensis reddidit mihi litteras tuas Traiecti, quibus respondi verbosissime per eundem ². Eas si nondum recepisti, dubio pro[cul] recipies. Tuis etiam litteris adligaram litteras ad Magistrum Laurentium
 5 de Aula³ et ad D<ominum> Johannem de Burgundia⁴ Romam mittendas. Quare rogo, ut postquam Brugas redieris, inquiri iubeas, quid de his litteris actum sit; quod scribe communi amico nostro Borsa[lo] decano Veriensi⁵. Purgavi me satis accurate a negligentia et
 10 aliis quibus me incusaras, reddidique te certiore de omni tenore vitae meae, de aulica hac miser[ia], quam graphice depinxit Huttenus in *Aula* sua ipse aulicus⁶. Quid enim Pius pont<ifex> ⁷ hac de re scripserit pueri simul legimus.

¹ Arnold van Gruithuysen, *Iuris Utriusque Licentiatus* and *ducalis consiliarius*, councillor of Charles, duke of Guelders. See *Lit. Cran.* 164, n.7 (p. 451). He is the author of letter 105 of the *Lit. Cran. Bald.* (6 March 1522).

² That answer is our letter 6, which Cranevelt must have received upon his return to Bruges. Its late arrival explains its position in the bundle. For a similar situation see the letters 23 and 24 sent by Joannes Borsalus.

³ Master Laurentius de Aula is mentioned as "Procurator negotiorum Romanorum" in Bruges in January 1525 (*Lit. Cran.* 137, ll. 3-4, pp. 137-138) and, on 30 September 1526, as the former (late?) owner of a house there (*Id.*, 204, l. 8, p. 537). "De Aula" may be a Latin rendering of a Dutch name such as "Van 't Hof" or "Van den Hove".

⁴ The second of the three natural sons of bishop Philip of Burgundy. He died in Rome some time before 15 september 1524, as can be deduced from *Lit. Cran.* 125, ll. 33-34 (p. 345): "tandem priusquam Johannes Romae moreretur..." in a report on financial matters concerning the family.

⁵ Joannes Borsalus or Becker of Borsele (ca 1475/80 — after April 1536). See *CE I*, pp. 115-116 and, hereafter, letters 23-24 and 29.

⁶ Hutten, *Aula* (Augsburg, 1518), a dialogue on court life written at Mainz in the autumn of 1518. Hutten's works are easily available in the *Opera Omnia* edition prepared by E. Böcking (Leipzig 1859-70, 5 vols.; repr. Aalen 1963). Furthermore see J. Benzing, *Ulrich von Hutten und seine Drucker. Eine Bibliographie der Schriften Huttens im 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1956).

⁷ Enea Silvio Piccolomini, pope Pius II, *De miseriis curialium*. This tract, written in the form of a long letter, is one of Enea's most popular and widely read works. It is dated 30 November 1444. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries it was printed so many times in Rome (from 1473 onwards), Paris, Leipzig, Mainz and elsewhere that it is impossible to say which edition was read by young Geldenhouwer and Cranevelt. There are modern editions by R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* II 61 (Vienna 1909), ep. 166, pp. 453-487, and W. P. Mustard, *Aeneae Silvii de Curialium Miseriis Epistola* (Baltimore-London 1928).

Tu, ut intelligo, graecaris; et ego hic pergraecor interdum, et (ut serio dicam) accersivi mihi adulescentem mediocriter Graece ac Hebraice peritum; is me utriusque linguae rudimenta docet. Hoc solum me male hab[et] quod uno loco admodum paucis diebus consistere licet. Perpetuos sex menses apud Transisulanos fuimus, nec quieturi sumus hac aestate propter Caroli Max<imi> Caesaris adventum ad nos; qui ut nostratibus et christianae Reipublicae pacificus sit, Deum Opt<imum> Max<imum> pacis in celo et in terra authorem oro.

Non possum uno die abesse, alioqui ad te advolassem. Optarem, si tibi commodum [[f]] esset, ut huc ad nos venires; [[ut]] Tielae enim aut Rhenis⁸ oppido tibi occurrerem presc[ripto] die. Omnia tibi hic segura et tuta sunt. Facio enim interdum tui mentionem apud R<everendissimum> ac clarissimum dominum meum⁹, et favet non modo tibi, sed et omnibus doctis et litterarum studiosis cuiuscumque sint nationis.

Oro, humanissime domine et amatissime frater supra omnes mortales, ut te paulisper, si quovis modo fieri poterit, [mea] causa fatiges ut scribas, quo die te aut Tielae aut Rhenis videbo, aut hic Dorestati. Joannes Malbodius¹⁰ adornavit hic aulam in arce, qua nullam credo esse pro sui magnitudine in orbe terrarum pulchriorem, si picturam videas, si spirantes veterum Augustorum statuas inspicias. Ad quam videndam a Brugis huc venires, quanto magis a Noviomago, id est itineris vix unius diei! Princeps Nassavius¹¹ ea de causa nuper huc ex Hollandia venit, et multi alii nobiles et principes viri. Sine persuadeam tibi et honestissime coniugi tuae, ut hic veniatis ad fratrem, immo servulum vestrum. Fratrem te amore incredibili voco, testis est mihi conscientia mea. Bene vale! Quam primum rescribe!

⁸ Rhenen: medieval town on the Rhine between Wageningen and Wijk bij Duurstede, the "Dorestatum" of this letter. Tiel was an important township on the North bank of the river Waal to the West of Nijmegen.

⁹ Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht.

¹⁰ Jan Gossaert called Mabuse and Jennijn of Hainault (Maubeuge 1478/88-Breda 1532), painter in the service of Philip of Burgundy, at least since 1515. He followed his lord to the Castle of Wijk bij Duurstede in 1517, when the latter became bishop of Utrecht. Cf. the following passages of Geldenhouwer's *Vita clarissimi principis Philippi a Burgundia* (Strasburg 1529), ed. J. Prinsen, *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus* (Amsterdam 1901), pp. 223-247: (p. 235) "Accersierat sibi magnis expensis pictores et architectos primi nominis.... et Joannem Malbodium, nostrae aetatis Zeuxin et Apellen", (and p. 240): "In primis vero veterem Dorestati arcem novis aedificiis commodiorem fecit; picturis, sculpturis figulinisque talibus exornavit, quales vix ipsam Italiam habere crediderim."

¹¹ Henry III of Nassau (1483-1538), who governed the counties of Holland and Zeeland from 1515 to 1522.

Commendabis me honestiss<imae> et optimae coniugi tuae, item
 40 pietissimae matri tuae, vaerius dicatur nostrae, et amicis omnibus.

Inquire, rogo, quid inventum sit sub sacello vetere in arce¹² isthic.

Iterum vale. D[ore]st[at]i, octava die post dominicam resurrectionem.
 Anno 1520¹³.

Tuus frater

45 Noviomagus Epi<scopi> T<raiectensis> a[ulicus]¹⁴

A tergo: Clarissimo atque doctissimo utriusque / iuris doctori
 M<agistro> Francisco de / Cranevelt, celeberrime civitatis / Brugensis
 oratori etc. P<ublici> B<rugensis> M<agistratus>.

the Nijmegen tot Cranevelts / op die cruce.¹⁵

Ep. 6. G. Geldenhouwer (Utrecht) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

6. (f.11)

< ca. 15 II 1520 >

This letter is the one written at Utrecht which Geldenhouwer mentions at the beginning of letter 5 and which Cranevelt must have received after his return to Bruges. The date can be fixed by the mention of four months passed in Overijssel against the six in letter 5 of April 16. The long sojourn in Overijssel must be seen against the background of the political difficulties between Geldenhouwer's patron, bishop Philip of Burgundy, and Overijssel. Tension between Utrecht and Overijssel had begun already in the second part of the 15th century as a consequence of the centralising policy of bishop David of Burgundy.

Geldenhouwer has not forgotten his old friend, but there are few opportunities for sending a letter. Whenever he reads Seneca, whom Cranevelt has taught

¹² The old castle built by Charlemagne and extended by Frederick Barbarossa in 1155 no longer exists, except for the so-called Carolingian chapel and ruins of the late romanic St. Martin's chapel, known as the "Barbarossaruïne".

¹³ 'Anno 1520' has been added in another ink (and by another hand?)

¹⁴ "a" uncertain. Only the upper part survives. Read perhaps a[b actis]?

¹⁵ "At the crossroads", Cranevelt's address in Nijmegen. "The Cross" (die Cruys, die Cruce, het Kruys and other variants) was the old name of the Market place ("Markt" or also "Cruysmerckt") of Nijmegen. Addresses like that of Cranevelt are frequently found in 15th- and 16th-century documents. See H. D. J. Van Schevichaven, *Oud-Nijmegen's Straten, Markten, Pleinen, Open Ruimten en Wandelplaatsen* (Nijmegen 1896), pp. 320-322. We thank Dr. Marc van der Poel, Nijmegen, who looked this up for us.

him to love, he is reminded of his friend. Geldenhouwer has had dinner in Kampen with Tilman and Nicolaas, two former fellow-students of Cranevelt. They send their greetings, and Nicolaas, a fairly rich young man, in fulfilment of a vow will go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem next May.

Geldenhouwer himself lives a courtier's, i.e. a slave's, life, but he will persevere. He has collected a rich library but no money. He has also hired a young man to teach him Greek. He has finished the final version of his *De Batavorum insula*, which is so different from the one Cranevelt received earlier that he asks him to destroy that first draft. Arrangements for the reciprocal forwarding of letters.

Geldenhouwer's short *Lucubratiuncula de Batavorum insula* came from Michael Hillen's press at Antwerp on 19 September 1520. It was edited again by Petrus Scriverius in his *Batavia Illustrata* (Leiden 1609 and 1611), a collection of similar works on Holland, Utrecht, Friesland etc. The treatise is part of a controversy among Dutch humanists (including also Cornelius Aurelius and Reinerus Snoy Goudanus) about the precise territory of the *Batavi* in the Roman period. Over a number of years Geldenhouwer had collected his materials with the help of Conrad Vecerius, the courtier of Charles V whom we find also among Cranevelt's correspondents (See letter 10). On the treatise and the controversy see Karin Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiekroniek van 1517. Historiografie en humanisme in Holland in de Tijd van Erasmus*, *Hollandse Studiën* 21 (Hilversum 1988), pp. 150-153, and Ead., *Historiography and Humanism in Holland in the Age of Erasmus. Aurelius and the Divisiekroniek of 1517*, *Bibliotheca humanistica & reformatrica*, vol. LI (Nieuwkoop 1992), pp. 217-235.

Geldenhouwer has read Erasmus's *New Testament* to his bishop. He has so far not seen Erasmus's *Farrago epistularum*.

The last part of the letter is damaged by the loss of the lower right corner of the sheet. Geldenhouwer mentions a letter of Erasmus to him and the division into opposing factions of the (Cologne? / German?) theologians: some say that Luther is a real Christian, others that he is a heretic. Those of Louvain have tried in vain to [??? text lost, but it must have been something like 'to stigmatize Luther as a heretic']. Their action was in vain, because truth always prevails.

Greetings to Cranevelt's family.

Salve, doctissime domine et frater amatissime. Iam stilum paraveram te oblivionis et negligentiae non segniter accusaturus, et tum insperato tuae suavissimae, licet subinde pungant, mihi exhibentur literae. Facile me excusare possem oblivionis, si res teste conscientia mea ageretur.

5 Nullus enim dies praeterit etiam occupatissimo mihi, quin tui memor, tui desiderio tenear. Amicitia nostra ab ipsis teneris unguibus contracta et tot annis roborata numquam divelli potest, numquam mori, cum sit immortalis. Quoties Senecam in manus sumo, quem tu mihi reddidisti ex hoste fere familiarissimum, subit animum meum iucundissima tui

- 10 recordatio. Cavebis itaque ne posthac [[me]] oblivionis me tam [[pro-
pere]] temere damnes. Excusant me profectiones istae aulicae, excusant
incerti (!) sedes, excusat nunciorum isthuc euntium et raritas et perfidia.
Qui committere possem, mi anime, ut nactus vel minimam occasionem
tibi non scriberem, cui et parvus literulis ineptis, nugis inconcinnis
15 obstipa[re]¹ solebam. Tu iustius accusandus quoniam, cum facile literas
tuas Noviomagum, Antverpiam, Traiectum in palatium pontificum
mittere possis, antea tot tamen menses stilum feriatum (ut dicunt)²
habueris. Ego, ut semel me tibi purgem, quatuor menses apud Transisu-
lanos egi, Bacho magis quam Minervae sacrificans, neque quemquam
20 ad manum habere potui per quem tibi (quod maxime cupiebam)
scriberem.

- Convivium celebravi Campis³ cum tuis convictoribus Tilmanno et
Nicolao, qui tibi salutem adscribi, uxoriue tuae iussere. Exceperunt me
per Bachum tuo nomine humanissime. Nicolaus voti reus Hierosoly-
25 mam hoc Maio profecturus est, adulescens dives admodum nec minus
urbanus.

- Haec hactenus. Caeterum ut de meo statu te quoque certio-
rem faciam, vivo aulice, id est (ut ego interpretor) misere. Verum quia
volens servituti huic me tradidi, statui perseverare, ne arguar levitatis et
30 inconstantie. Coacervavi mihi instructissimam bibliothecam, et pecunia-
rum nihil. Vivo meo more, neque ambio honores, et divitias non
admodum exspecto. Accersivi quendam adulescentem, Graece mediocri-
ter doctum, ut vel tandem Graecas literas discam, qui pergraecari totus
cogor. Nihil magis mihi est in votis, quam tecum vivere, tecum conse-
35 nescere, tecum mori. Absolvi *Bathavorum insulam*⁴ et longe aliam
faciem habet quam vidisti. Quare oro ut vel supprimas vel igni tradas id
quod a me accepisti. Et ne posthac me insimules oblivionis et negligen-
tiae, tu cura, ut literae tuae ad me Cornelio de Bauzele⁵ Lovanium
mittantur, ego meas Cordato⁶ communi amico mittam.

¹ 'Obstipare' is a false reading in Plautus, *Cist.* 579, added also in *Merc.* post v. 829. Cp. *Th.L.L.*, s.v. and L. Braun, *Scenae Suppositiciae oder der falsche Plautus* (Göttingen 1980), p. 186.

² Compare classical expressions such as 'machaeram ... feriatam' (Plaut., *Miles* 5-7); 'toga feriatam' (Plin., *Ep.* VIII 3.2); 'otioso feriatoque ferro' (Pacatus, *Paneg. Theod.* [= *Paneg.* XII] 40.1, etc., and G. Budé, *De Philologia* (Paris, Badius, 1532 [repr. Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt 1964], f. aiii^v = III^v: 'feriatis auribus Principis opus erat').

³ Kampen in Overijssel.

⁴ See above, introduction.

⁵ Cornelius van Baussele, Cranevelt's brother-in-law.

⁶ Hadrianus Cordatus (†1538/9) of Middelburg, called by Geldenhouwer his Maece-
nas, was a canon of St. Peter's, Middelburg. See *CE* I, pp. 338-339.

- 40 Novum Testamentum D<omini> Erasmi opera recognitum⁷ praelegi R<everendo> D<omino> T<raiectensi>. Farraginem epistularum Erasmi nondum vidi⁸. Respon-di totie[s ei (?)] quoties argumenta exposcebant. Verum non sunt dignae nugae mei[[s]] [... ut(?) ...] viri sanctissimis laboribus aedantur. Fecit nuper Erasmu[s honestam] tui
- 45 mentionem in suis ad me literis⁹. Miror te nihil de [...] super eius viri eruditione et operibus; totus theologorum chorus C[oloniensis]¹⁰ in factiones divisus est: aliis Lutherum christianissimum esse [asseverantibus], aliis hereticum clamitantibus. Lovanienses theologi moliti sunt [hereticum facere]¹¹, sed frustra. Semper enim victrix veritas¹².
- 50 Vides, mi d[omine amatissime, quam] verbose, quam tumultuose tibi scribo, ne posthac mihi q[uerulam mittas epistolam]. Salutabis honestissimam coniugem tuam et pientissimam matrem t[uam et] proles omnes. Bene vale, anime plusquam dimidium mee.
- Tuus ad omnia F[rater] Gerardus [.....]
- 55 A tergo: Clarissimo atque humanissimo U<triusque> I<uris> / Doctori M<agistro> Francisco Cranevelt, / celeberrimae civitatis Brugensis / primo pensionario p<ublici> B<rugensis> M<agistratus> /
- Brugis.

⁷ The second edition published at Basel in 1519, the same which Luther used for his translation.

⁸ The *Farrago nova Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami* had been published by Froben at Basel in October 1519.

⁹ Lost letter of Erasmus.

¹⁰ The word is not certain. Only the greater part of what seems to be a capital C survives. It may be also a G and then the reading would be G[ermanorum] or G[ermanicus].

¹¹ This seems to be an allusion to the discussions preceding the publication by Dirk Martens in February 1520 of the Cologne and Louvain condemnations of Luther. On 30 August 1519 Cologne had condemned certain theses of Luther; Louvain followed suit on 7 November. On 4 December Adrian of Utrecht sharply condemned Luther again. Early in 1520 Cologne was informed about the Louvain judgment, and in February the collected documents were printed at Louvain: *Epistola Reverendissimi Domini Cardinalis Dertusensis, ad Facultatem Theologie Lovaniensem. Eiusdem Facultatis doctrinalis condemnatio qua condemnatur doctrina Martini Lutheri doctoris theologie universitatis Wittenbergensis. Condemnatio Facultatis Theologie Coloniensis adversus eiusdem Martini doctrinam*. See NK 7; the catalogues Dirk Martens (Aalst 1973), p. 283, nr. M191, 550 *Jaar Universiteit Leuven* (Louvain 1976), pp. 338-339, nr. 482; and K. Blockx, *De veroordeling van Maarten Luther door de Theologische Faculteit te Leuven in 1519*, *Verhandelingen Kon. Vlaamse Academie W.L.S.K. van België, Klasse der Letteren*, nr. 31 (Brussels 1958), pp. 124-132.

¹² An early indication of G.'s sympathy for Luther's cause.

Ep. 7. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

7 (ff. 12-13)

29 III <1520>

Vives has just finished his *Somnium et Vigilia* and will now answer two letters of Cranevelt. First he speaks about an “inventum”(some literary work?) of a disinterested teacher, who is their common friend. Is Vives referring to the playwright Leonardus Clodius (see letter 11)? Then follow some not very clear sentences about disinterestedness and a discussion on the greatness of princes, which Vives considers vain and the result of people’s self-delusion. Referring to his experience at Louvain when he wanted to read the *Somnium Scipionis* (see letter 2) and to Cranevelt’s reaction — all professors are dreamers except the jurists — Vives expatiates humorously on lawyers. Here part of the text is lost.

Vives then shows how busy he is: last year he published fifteen works, and a few more are forthcoming. The last part of the letter tells a ridiculous story of what happened in the Faculty of Law, where an incompetent Frenchman wanted to prove that the emperor is sovereign of the whole world.

Greetings to Laurinus, to whom he will write before long.

Lodovicus Vives F<rancisco> Craneveldio suo Sal<utem> .

Solutior iam sum aliquanto: hac enim ipsa hora et somniare desii et vigilare.¹ Nunc ad binas tuas respondebo litteras, mi Craneveldi. Studium tam foelix nostri amici laudo, et admiror, gaudeoque me in
5 hanc potissimum aetatem esse servatum, si modo inventum illud nostra aetate proditurum est. Ac magis gaudeo quod, ut dicis, ille non est mercenarius praeceptor. Nam alioqui inventa mihi et non inventa eodem numero fuissent. Morbo enim laboro philosophico. Quid istuc morbi genus est? Ingens! Quaere ab illo; ex professione dicet. Tu si nec
10 expertus es, nec intelligis, cura, quaeso te, diligenter ne experiaris. Intelligere ne admodum laborato ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὴ περὶ ἐκείνων, ne forte irascatur ipse, quod ita nugamur; quamvis non est eo ingenio, sed ἔστωσαν ταῦτα ἅλῃς.²

De magnitudine principum tu quidem πολιτικωτέρως³, ego vero in
15 priore persto sententia, rusticius ut credo. Nam ex opinionibus vulgi mihi haec omnia videntur nata. Quae est ista magnitudo, nisi quam ipsi

¹ The dedicatory epistle of the Antwerp edition of his *Somnium et Vigilia* is dated 28 March 1520, just one day before this letter, which Vives presumably wrote immediately after dispatching the manuscript.

² The Greek words are translated into Latin in the left margin: “id est, sunt haec satis.”

³ In the left margin translated as: “id est, civilius.”

nobis finximus, mensi omnia numo, civili, ut dicit Aristoteles⁴, mensura. Nam de genio quid dicas non intelligo. Potuit illud aliquid fuisse in bellis, aut finxit ille Aegyptius id in Cleopatrae gratiam.⁵ Ego
 20 alacriorem genium putem esse asino honusto pecunia, aut sui potius, cui sit animus pro sale, quam tibi; quam etiam, si id ausim dicere, sed audebo, mihi! Praestringet, mihi crede, auri et gemmarum ille fulgor nostri corporis oculos, quum tota mentis animique vis in eos demigravit. Nam illud dictum ad Augustum nihil ad hanc rem facit. Primum
 25 serviebat ille caussae Messala, ut puto, aut Asinius. Nam nomen non teneo. Tum erat Augustus tantus ingenio et eruditione ut etiam in ordinem redactus formidabilis esset dicturis acreque illud subituris iudicium.

De Somnio quod riseris non miror. Nam ipsa per se res, vel si insulse
 30 narretur, sicut ego feci, est ridicula. Video te omnes professores facere somniantes praeter vestros iurisconsultos; quos tanquam Atlantes illos nihil vis per quietem videre⁶, nisi si quis τὰς τοῦ Ἀκκουρσιοῦ γλοσσαλγίας somnia esse velit; quod ego non puto. εἴσιν γὰρ μᾶλλον τῶν μαινομένων ἀγρυπνίαι. Verum iurisconsultos non somniare quid causae esse dicam, mi Neomagi? Nam hoc mihi plane enigma est. Aliqui
 35 extenuato cerebro semper vigilant, tanquam draco ille custos aureorum malorum, quibus isti vel incubant vel certe inhijant (Sed heus tu extra numerum!); an quod sopiti altissimo somno velut homines bene poti nulla in quiete habent visa? Sed tu, qui es enigmatis author, esto etiam
 40 coniector, nisi mavis Accursiano more ad Apollinem referre ut magis innod[e]tur ac intricetur; ad quem quum Accursius toties iverit cum suis dub[iis mirum non?] est, si obscurior redierit minusque intelligens quam iveri[t.....] Tu epistolam vis salvam esse; vide ne in manus incidat

⁴ Aristotle *Ethica Nic.* IX i.2 (1164a): Κοινὸν μέτρον τὸ νόμισμα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο δὴ πάντα ἀναφέρεται καὶ τούτῳ μετρεῖται; compare also V v.10 (1133a).

⁵ Cf. Plut., *Antonius* 33.1-5, summarised by Erasmus, *Adag.* 57 (LB II 56B): "...quandam fabulam idem [= Plutarchus] refert de M. Antonio atque Augusto: videlicet hos, reliquis quidem in rebus amanter, summaque inter sese concordia agitas; caeterum in ludis, quos ad aemulationem quandam edebant, Octavium semper superiorem esse solitum. Eam rem Antonium non mediocriter discruciasse. Fuisse autem in Antoniano comitatu magum quempiam Aegyptium. Is seu quod vere nosset eius fatum, seu quod ad gratiam Cleopatrae fingeret, eum admonuit ut a Caesare se quantum posset seiungeret, quod ipsius genius, alacer alioqui, genium illius reformidaret, quoque propius accessisset, hoc humilior deiectione videretur."

⁶ A reminiscence of Pomponius Mela I 43 on the Atlantes, a people in Africa: "...neque illis in quiete qualia ceteris mortalibus visere datur." See also Plin., *Nat. Hist.* V 45.

c[uiusdam ex?] Accursisequis. Quod invitas me ad scribendum, nae tu
 45 si[nis ...] dies agam, quiescere me iuberis, tantum abest ut stu[diorum
 me?] immemorem reddas; quem adeo memorem mones, Ann[o supe-
 riore quinde]cim libros simul uno partu effudi⁷. Quos libellos a[d]
 obscuritas illorum et mea in caussa est; nunc o[mnino ad?] summum
*quinque Declamationes*⁸, *Somnium*, *Vigilia*⁹ prodibunt. Videorne tibi
 50 occludere talentum, ut ille apud Evangelium servus parum frugi?¹⁰ At
 infeliciter ista omnia, quandoquidem non pluris sunt quam recondita.
 Quid igitur? Visne rogent aut ingenium meum, ut meliora aedat, quam
 potest, [[vel]] aut ipsam fortunam ut meliorem praestet [[eventem]]
 eventum quam vult; neque haec ulla opera trahetur, quo non vult, nec
 55 illud quo non potest.

Iurisperditus ille Gallus Sulpit[iu]s¹¹, ut credo, vel Aquilius, voluit
 hic ostendere ad laudem, ut dicebat, imperatoris, totum mundum esse
 Caesaris. Res est acta magnis clamoribus, et ingenti illius ignorantia.
 Disputatio fuit tota Gallo-Latina, et qualis tempus illud decebat. Nec
 60 prandium par erat instructum pro qualitate temporis; nam crederes
 illum inaugurari, in qua re fuit mire infoelix? Neque enim caece ipsa
 ubique favit fortuna. Neminem potuit habere convivam praeter duos
 licentiatos, quos ipse invisos et repugnantes obtorto collo, dilaceratis
 pene vestibus [[p]] raptavit et pertraxit ad triclinium. Priscianus et
 65 Ulpianus sese ultro offerebant convivas ut redirent in gratiam cum
 homine. Verum ille tenacissimae irae, et scholis et domo eos arcuit,
 atque exclusit. Ego me etiam meapte sponte invitabam, vetere verbo
 inter rem novam utens: "boni ad convivia bonorum." Ille me ingenti
 cum fastidio aspernatus est, quod nec nasi quicquam haberem, nec
 70 scirem ridere. Sed posteaquam accepit syderatum me esse et lienosum,
 magnis precibus ad se vocabat, verum sero. Nam eram iam bene pastus

⁷ Vives refers to his *Opuscula varia*, published in 1519.

⁸ *Declamationes Syllanae quinque*, published at Antwerp by Michael Hillen, April 1520. See *Selected Works of J.L. Vives*, vol. 2: *Declamationes Sullanae. Part One*. Edited by E.V. George (Leiden 1989).

⁹ *Somnium et Vigilia*, published at Antwerp by Joannes Theobaldus Gorneensis in 1520. Vives's dedicatory epistle is dated Louvain 28 March 1520. See J.L. Vives, *Somnium et Vigilia in Somnium Scipionis (Commentary on the Dream of Scipio)*. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Notes by E.V. George (Greenwood, S.C., 1989).

¹⁰ Matth. 25.14-30.

¹¹ No French *Doctor Iuris* is known at Louvain in those years. The man must have been a licentiate.

prandio Cardinalitio¹², et mihi unicus est venter. Haec quidem de prandio.

De disputatione autem, quae ibi facta, responsa, dicta sint graviter,
 75 acute, prudenter, eleganter, docte, iurisconsulte,
 haec qui scire velit, Libyci velut aequoris idem
 Discere quam multae Zephyro turbemur arenae,
 Aut ubi navigiis violentior incidit Eurus
 Nosse, quot Ionii veniant ad littora fluctus.¹³

80 Non est illorum numerus, neque enim numero comprehendere refert,
 sed vereor, ne dum singula illius persequor, ego fiam pene ille. 'Vereor'
 dixi, nam nollem esse tantus, et tam consum<m>atus vir. Mea
 mediocritas mire mihi placet.

En habes epistolam bellam, et cum faenore, ut iussisti, si modo non
 85 cartam spectaris, sed versus, quos tu, ne a vestro more scribendarum
 dicarum recedas, sesquipedalibus intervallis distingues.

Gaudeo tibi esse familiaritatem cum Laurino¹⁴, quem homin[em] ego
 mire amo, quoniam ipse non doctos modo, verum studiosos etiam
 amat, et quo potest favore prosequitur; quo nomine nec me odit. Ei
 90 multam meis verbis Sa<lutem>. Cum quo sum brevi acerba aliqua
 epistola et convitiis plena expostulaturus, quia ad epistolam, quam
 a me accepit, nihil hactenus responderit.

Vale, Lovanii, iiii Cal<endas> Aprileis.

Sequuntur ipsius Vivis manu addita:

95 Haec dictavimus librario. Bernardum nostrum¹⁵ puto non posse tibi
 magis commendari quam sit apud te commendatus. Vide ne posthac
 duobus generibus hominum committas tuas litteras, resignatoribus et
 po[[rti]]toribus. Illi enim omnia reddunt aperte, et ipse tuis enigmatis
 magis oblector; hi vero sitientes petunt quod glutiant. Vale.

A tergo: Prudentiss<imo> Iustitiae consulto / Francisco Craneveldio /
 100 Pensionario Brugensi.

¹² The Cardinal must be Vives' Maecenas, William of Croy.

¹³ Verg., *Georg.* II 105-108. Virgil begins v. 105 with *Quem qui...*; in v. 2 Vives follows the variant reading 'discere' (also found in Columella III 2.29) against 'dicere'.

¹⁴ Marcus Laurinus.

¹⁵ Bernardus Valdaura.

Ep. 8. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

8 (f. 14)

< V? 1520 >

A letter sent together with another one to Bernardo Valdaura. Vives expresses his hope that the news about the imminent death of a raving enemy of the humanists may be true and that Cranevelt may become his successor. Then there will be hope for a renaissance of good learning. The enemy is unknown. The end of letter 9 shows that he cannot be Johannes Stephani (Stevens) de Nivella, professor ordinarius of Civil Law since 1517, who as rector of the University forbade a course announced by Alardus of Amsterdam in March 1519. Stevens died on 27 October 1520. See *HCT* I, pp. 319-320. Vives, furthermore, hopes that a copy of his *Somnium* has been sent by the printer, who alas did his work very badly.

This letter gives us the clue to the correct interpretation of a passage in the original version of part V of Vives' *Somnium* which the editor of this work could not satisfactorily elucidate: J. L. Vives, *Somnium et Vigilia in Somnium Scipionis* (*Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*). Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Notes by E. V. George (Greenwood, S.C., 1989), p. 291. It is now clear that that passage (George, pp. 214-227, esp. p. 220) refers directly to the academic situation at Louvain. Part V describes a quarrel between the Fates Clotho, symbol of (scholastic) conservatism supported by the barbarous Getae or Goths, and Atropos, representative of the humanistic renewal. Both try to draw their sister Lachesis to their side. In the original version Cicero is entrusted with the defence of Atropos. In the end a decree of the Senate freezes the prevailing scholastic situation until the year 24 (p. 220, § 57.8). The reason is that, by that year, some obstinate antagonists of the renewal will have left office. Then Cato takes the floor and says that "if we bear with the current state of affairs for but four years [the text was written in 1520!], we shall profit from it more and for longer when it has changed for the better" (p. 221). From our letter it is now clear that the humanists at Louvain expected the withdrawal (or death) of one of their opponents by 1524 and that they hoped Cranevelt would take his place.

In the end, however, things went a different way and accordingly Vives rewrote completely the "prophesying" passage in the revised version of 1539. No precise period was mentioned for the end of the old regime. Instead it was said that new elections were scheduled by the praetor Glossius for the fifth day before the Calends of the Muses. There was worry that Adelphius was going to interpose his veto, but he was sent off by a senatorial decree to govern the province of Mexico. It is clear now what Vives meant: Glossius ("the Language-man") and the Calends of the Muses are symbols of the humanist regime; Adelphius, Greek for "Brother" or *Frater*, symbolises the monks (Franciscans and Dominicans) opposing humanism. But they received a new mission, being sent to the New World, as was actually happening in Vives' time.

Lodovicus Vives S. D. Francisco Craneveldio suo.

Quam vellem Deus immortalis faceret, quod hic multi praenunciant futurum θνηξόμενον ἤγουν rabiosum nescio quem¹ ἀπειροκαλώτατον, καὶ σὲ suffectum iri. Tum vero spes erit permagna θειῶν παιδειῶν
 5 reducendarum si istuc fiat, idque brevi necesse est fata id adducant, si tam diligunt suum τέταρτον καὶ ἑικοσιον ἔτος, ut ego vaticinor in meo *Somnio*. Quod puto missum esse iam istuc a cacographo Gallo quodam nomine Ribault², qui ne repugnaret naturae suae, mendosis-
 10 sime illud excusit, quod est in eo gentile³.

Et si nihil habebam, quod ad te nunc scriberem, nolui tamen ad Bernardum nostrum⁴ litteras dare, quin simul etiam darem ad te. Amicis communibus S<alutem>, et Vale. Lovanii.

A tergo: D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio / Pensionario Brugen-
 <si> iuris / consultiss<imo>

Brugis.

Ep. 9. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

9 (ff. 15-16)

Written after 22 V 1520.

Received on 06 VI 1520.

This letter, written at Louvain a few days after 22 May (see below, p. 30, ll. 33-34) and received at Bruges on 6 June 1520, obliges us to reconsider the dating of (Vives's) letter 1108 in the Correspondence of Erasmus (and, conse-

¹ Enigmatic allusion to an unknown enemy of the humanist cause. The regular future participle of the verb θνήσκειν is θανόμενος, but Vives used the very rare future θνήξομαι / θνηξόμενος. Did he know the epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum in which it occurs (*Anthol. Graeca* IX 354.4)? Or did he himself coin the apparently more regular (and easier) form because he still ignored the classical one?

² The Antwerp printer Jo. Thibault printed Vives's *Somnium et vigilia* in April 1520 (NK 4065). See ep. 3, l. 5. The number of misprints is indeed very high, beginning with a 'Somniums' on the title-page. Vives spells the name Ribault quite clearly here.

³ H. Barlandus also was quite upset by the poor quality of the work delivered by this printer, and on fol. D.i.v of his *Libelli tres* (Antwerp, M. Hillen, 1521), introduced a malicious wish: "Deus malefaciat istis librorum corruptoribus ..."

⁴ Bernardus Valdaura.

quently, of all related letters by Erasmus and, possibly, others). Letter 1108 is a report sent by Vives to Erasmus on a journey to Paris. Vives states that he arrived in Bruges on the 3 of June, the day before he wrote the report. The journey from Paris to Bruges had taken five days and he had spent about a fortnight in Paris visiting friends and lecturing on *The Dream of Scipio*. Allen dated the report to 1520, which in the light of this letter is impossible: Vives was at Louvain on 22 May and the following days. Therefore, Allen 1108 must be redated to 1519. We know that Vives was in Paris in May or June 1519. The new date explains better Vives's worrying about the effect on his Paris acquaintances of the publication of his *Adversus Pseudodialecticos*, which came from the press in Louvain at the end of April 1519. More than a year later he would have known about the reactions in Paris.

In the first part of the letter, a kind of sequel to letter 7, Vives takes up a philosophical discussion on wealth and poverty begun by Cranevelt in a previous letter. He refutes Cranevelt's notion of "happy poverty" and expatiates on his own modest way of life, which satisfies him but could not suit Cranevelt, as the latter is a married man with wife and children to care for.

Next follows a humorous paragraph on the barbarous language of medieval jurists such as Accursius. They are condemned in a mock 'senatusconsultum' issued in "Law City, on the Courtly Calends, the consuls being 'Just Fairness' and 'Human Tranquillity'(?).

More news also about the Faculty of Law: the stupid French jurist, whom we know from letters 2 and 7, has left Louvain to become — as he said — an ambassador somewhere. "Sent to the New World, I think, by Margaret of Austria, which is a good proof of her knowledge of men", Vives adds ironically. About this time the Faculty in a single ceremony had created four new doctors and Vives has been allowed to participate in those solemn mysteries. The new doctors got violet hats (Vives sarcastically interprets the medieval adjective 'violatus' = 'violaceus' as the participle 'violatus', 'corrupted') and a ring; a book with seven seals — which supposedly can only be opened by a doctor — was then opened; finally, during the dinner they were girded with a belt ('cingulum') and long speeches were given by (professors) Gabriel (Van der Meeren) and (Johannes Stevens) Nivellanus. The date of the ceremony (11. Kal. Iunii 1520 = 22 May) and the names of the four new doctors are given by Valerius Andreas, *Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis* (Louvain 1650), pp. 182-184. They are Petrus Hieronymus Nicolai, O. Praem., Iudocus Laetus Gaverius, Ludovicus de Schore and Ioannes de Haze. The second and the third are famous names in the history of Louvain. Laetus or Vroeye from Gavere (Flanders) had entered the University on 28 February 1499. He ultimately became a professor of Canon Law and was twice rector of the University (in 1521 and 1529). He died on 10 February 1533. Among the *Litterae Balduinianae* there is one written by him to Cranevelt on 29 April 1521. See furthermore, H. De Vocht, *HCT* I, pp. 222-226. Lodewijk van Schore was a native of Louvain (°ca. 1492 — †Christmas 1548). After a short academic career as successor to Gabriel Van der Meeren he entered the service of Charles V as a member of the Great Council at Mechlin on

7 November 1524 and soon became one of the emperor's most influential courtiers. He was knighted and, in October 1540, became president of both the Privy Council and the Council of State. See D.M.J. van den Auweele, "Het omstreden huwelijk van Hendrik VIII en Catharina van Aragon: de interventies van de Lovaniensis Lodewijk van Schore (1492-1548)", *Onze Alma Mater* 45 (Leuven 1991), 167-196.

Vives' letter closes with greetings and the expression of his hope of being in Bruges soon.

Lodo < vicus > Vives Craneveldio S.

Memini quod nuper, quum de genio ageremus¹, non admodum mihi videbaris philosophari; nunc de opibus et paupertate nimis es Stoicus. Quid istuc est? Tradimusne nobis operas mutuas? An tibicines agimus
 5 Latinos?² Modo tu civilis homo, modo teter atque horridus Zenonius. Talem me cogit etiam tua ista vicissitudo, quam tu sic convertis ut omnem in partem quantum facultate dicendi valeas, ostendas. Cui ego vel darem manus vel certe cederem, nisi tota dicendi vis sine contentionem et aliquo in genere velut in scopum dirigatur flaccesceret. Quod ne
 10 fiat, neu fructu facundiae careamus tuae, volo me tanquam album petas. Quid tu dicis? Nihil esse iucundius laeta paupertate? Confutarem te protinus, nisi ipse praevenisses, nempe providens quid obiici in te confestim posset. Idcirco paupertatem, ne per tuam ironiam causeris non intellexisse, scito me appellare aeris tantam parvitatem ut necessa-
 15 riis vitae minime sufficiat. Nam si tu numero pecuniae divitias mihi praestituisti ac paupertatem, vide ne exclamet mox Persius aliquis: "Rem duplica; feci..."³ et reliqua. Nosti carmen. Quid? Quodsi tu illum divitem vocas, qui centum millia in censu est professus, vel qui quadringenta millia habet, et potest in quattuordecim sedere⁴, dii immortales!
 20 quanta erit non dico mediocrium hoc tempore in civitatibus civium, sed ipsorum quoque principum paupertas! Quanta Crassi, si cum illis tantis serviciis et clientelis non plus possideret! Verum haec omnia pro copia tua tu ita disputasti ut pro utroque dixeris, nec mihi contra dicendi locum reliqueris; deinde accusas me velut apud subse<l>lia philoso-

¹ In letter 7.

² For this expression cp. Cic., *Mur.* 26: "Transit idem iurisconsultus tibicinis Latini modo."

³ Persius VI 78. In the left margin the reference is given as: In vi. satyra prope fi<nem>.

⁴ The expression "In quattuordecim <ordinibus> sedere" refers to a privilege of the Roman knights in the theatre. Cp. Suet., *Caes.* 39.2

- 25 phorum de transgressis finibus, quia non solum habeam quod necesse
quodque satis est, sed plus etiam. Nescio mihine crediturus sis de
domesticis meis rebus locuturo; quod facies, si unquam vir tibi sum
bonae fidei visus. Multa quae necessaria sunt, desunt, et tamen satis
habeo. Nam hoc ago animo et cupiditate mea metior illud rebus ipsis,
30 quas desiderat haec philosophica vita, quamvis exiguis. Quodsi tibi
necessarium vocari non libet, quicquid non desideratur, esto! ἀγαθῇ
τύχῃ! nomenclatura (*sic!*) tibi contentus sum cedere. At quod meam
philosophicam πενίαν opibus illis Croesi et Crassi praefers, medius-
fidius mecum sentis, et eam ipse tibi amplexandum suaderem, nisi tibi
35 οὐλομένη esset, ut vocat Hesiodus⁵, futura. Neque enim putes eam me
appellasse morbum, quia molesta mihi sit, quod animo meo aliquam
importet aegritudinem, immo vero quietem pacemque incredibilem ac
iucundissimam. Verum morbus est a me dicta, ut te ab eius amicitia
absterrerem. Non eadem in utroque nostrum ratio: mihi soli atque
40 expedito gratior est tenuitas, gravior esset opulentia; tibi homini uxo-
rato et [...] aliquot iam aucto prolibus nullum esset acerbius angus-
tia[rum miser]iis malum. Nam etsi tu philosophico animo pro tua multa
ma[gna]que (?) erudi[tione] et sapientia paupertatem ferres, parvis tamen
liberis ac uxori, q[uoniam] ut] vulgus non sapiunt, intolerabile onus ea
45 esset, e quorum [infelicitate non] posset non in animum tuum aliquid
morsus et contractionis re[cidere]. [...] tibi acutam scilicet meam disputa-
tionem? Ne nihil ineptiarum ad [...]// tua. Illud risi quod divitem te
facis inter opes non tuas; quae foelicitas tibi est communis cum
Tantalo, nisi forte copia illa rerum et in sacietatem fastidiumque
50 adducit; quod mihi frequentissime usu venit, ut numquam malim esse
pauper, quam quum inter divites versor, aversatus eorum scelestos
mores, ut sunt nunc eiusmodi hominum mores.

Iam περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἀκκουρσίου γλωσσαλγίων, pace prius veniaque
deorum postulata orataque, narrabo tibi S<enatus> Con<sultum>
55 atque id relatu gravastelli mei atriensis, hominis mei iam pridem
congerronis⁶. Quum maxima pars eorum quae Accursius Florentinus⁷

⁵ Hes., *Opera* 717: οὐλομένην πενίην. In the left margin one reads: οὐλομένη id est pernicioza.

⁶ Allusion to the main character of his *Aedes Legum*, viz. the aged custodian of the House of Law ("atriensem annosissimum"), who welcomes Vives with the words: "...ex nostris mihi videris congerronibus" and shows him around, using a very archaic Latin language. See the edition of C. Mattheussen (Leipzig, Teubner, 1983), §§ 4-5 (p. 17).

⁷ The well-known medieval Italian jurist Francesco Accursio, born near Florence (ca. 1181/85 — 1263), who closed the era of the so-called *Glossatores*. Vives here refers to his

in corpus iuris civilis scripserit, petita sunt aut ex vaticiniis veteris Sibyllae, aut ex Hugutione, Papia et Graecismo⁸, quumque Sibyllae divinationes non p[[r]]ortenderint aliquid ultra trecentos annos, nec
 60 horum scriptorum interpretationes vocabulorum valeant supra idem tempus, S<enatus> P<opulus> q<ue> iuris consulticum censere ac iubere Accursii Florentini leges, dicta, decreta, responsa, effutita, blatterata, glossata, elucidata, involuta, convoluta, intenebrata, proximis commitiis centuriatis abrogari, nec pluris valere ea vaticinia quam visa,
 65 cogitata, spectata [[instituentium?]] insanientium⁹ prae vehementissima febri; qui contra hoc senatusconsultum simul et p[[l]]ebiscitum dixerit, crediderit, disputarit, sibilarit, mussarit, eum hominem placeat populo exulare tres annos in Antycira¹⁰, hac lege ut ei liceat postliminio in integrum restitui, si quotidie bonam iustam ellebore potionem acceperit
 70 pro ientaculo. Ennomi, Calendis forensibus, Aequo Bono Esichia¹¹ Anthropina Consulibus. In eandem fere sententiam de Bartholomeo et Baldo¹² decretum est. De Gallo-Latino meo¹³ nolim secus existimes quam doctiss<imus> et totius humani et divini iuris prudentiss<imus>. Iam abiit in su<am> Galliam vel ἐς.....¹⁴; nihil addo,
 75 balbus sum! Hic sparsit famam se oratorem¹⁵ ire nescio quo; ad gentes has noviter repertas, ut puto, missum a Ma[r]gareta Augusta. Quod si

main work, the *Glossa Ordinaria* (1250), still a basic work in the Law Faculty of his time. In his *Aedes legum* 7 he calls him “foculator omnium Cimmericarum furvitatum.”

⁸ (H)ugutio of Pisa (ob. ca. 1212), the Lombard Papias (mid-11th c.) and Ebrardus Bethuniensis (late 12th-early 13th c.), author of the *Graecismus*, are three medieval lexicographers who are cited over and again by the humanists (Erasmus *et al.*) as monsters of barbarism.

⁹ ‘insanientium’ was added in the left margin in substitution for another word (instituentium?) cancelled at the end of the line.

¹⁰ Anticyra is the name of Greek towns (sometimes also taken as islands) which were famous for the growing of hellebore, a medicinal plant used to remedy mental diseases.

¹¹ We are not sure that ‘Esichia’ (viz. Ἑσυχία) is the correct reading.

¹² Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1314-1357) and Baldus de Ubaldis (ca. 1319/27-1400) are two more famous Italian jurists, whose works were currently used in the Law Faculty. See the *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge 1982), p. 857. In his *Aedes Legum* 7 Vives calls the first “durior ille et stupidior saxo et ferro ex quo fuit”, and the second: “huius mali corvi malum et bardum ovum”.

¹³ See letter 2, note 4.

¹⁴ The full expression would be ἐς κόρακας meaning “to the crows (of the gallows)”, “to the devil”. See also Vives’s *Somnium quae est Praefatio ad Somnium Scipionis Ciceroniani*, § 39 (ed. E. V. George, p. 36, l. 2).

¹⁵ *Orator* here means ‘ambassador’.

haec ita fecit, tum demum existimabo eam acr[e]m existimatricem ingeniorum et mulierem perpaucorum hominum¹⁶.

His diebus, quod sit foelix faustumque mihi tibi que totique reipu-
 80 b <licae> iuris consulticae, vestra facultas utriusque iuris uno partu
 peperit quadrigeminos doctores licuitque mihi cum bona venia mysta-
 rum interesse sacris, et admissus sa[cra] ad mysteria Ἡράκλεις quam
 divina, quam incomprehensibilia! O altitudo divitiarum! Dati sunt
 primum pilei, ut vocant, violati, idest corrupti, deinde annuli, hinc liber
 85 clausus signaculis septem, mox apertus, quem, ut dicebant, nemo
 poterat aperire nisi doctor; tantis opus est viribus! Tum ne frigerent, vel
 ne creparent, inter prandendum vincti sunt nesci[o] quibus vinculis,
 quae ipsi vocant cingula. Sed vereor ne paenas dem, ut Numenius ille¹⁷,
 qui revelavit Cereris mysteria καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πάντα ἐκόσμουν ἐκεῖνοι
 90 γαβριήλ¹⁸, καὶ ὁ νῖβέλλανος¹⁹ λόγοις αὐλῶν στομυλωτάτοις.²⁰

Vale Lovanii. Spero nos brevi futuros istic. Tu tamen nihilo secius
 rescribe mihi, si quem fueris nactus qui huc veni[t].²¹

Vives

A tergo: D <omino> Francisco Cranevel/dio iurisconsulto eruditis-
 95 s <imo> / Pensionario Brugensi, amico / meo praecipuo.
 Brugis

Craneveldi manu: Accepi vi iunii anno 20.

¹⁶ The expression “Est paucorum hominum” means “He/she has but few intimates, is choice in his/her company.” Cf. Horace, *Sat.* I 9.44: “(Maecenas est) paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae.”

¹⁷ Cf. Macrobius, *Comm. in Somn. Scipionis* I 2.19: “Numenio denique inter philosophos occultorum curiosiori offensam numinum, quod Eleusina sacra interpretando vulgaverit, somnia prodiderunt, viso sibi ipsas Eleusinas deas habitu meretricio ante apertum lupanar videre prostantes, admirantique et causas non convenientis numinibus turpitudinis consulenti respondisse iratas ab ipso se de adyto pudicitiae suae vi abstractas et passim adeuntibus prostitutas.”

¹⁸ Gabriel must be Gabriel de Mera (Van der Meeren) of Breda, who was appointed professor primarius of canon law on 19 December 1519. Vives wrote a report on his ‘promotio’ to this post to Cranevelt, preserved by Valerius Andreas in his biography of Van der Meeren. See *Lit. Cran.* I. De Mera died at Louvain on 18 March 1530.

¹⁹ Nivellanus: Johannes Stevens (Stephani) from Nivelles (Nijvel) in Brabant, professor of civil law. In letter 16 Vives reports his death. See introduction to letter 8.

²⁰ στομυλωτάτοις (‘chattering’) would be more correct.

²¹ In the lower left corner of the sheet, which is mostly torn off, a few letters of marginal notes are left.

Ep. 10. Conradus Vecerius (Brussels) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

10 (ff. 17-18)

02 VII 1520

A letter brought by Geldenhouwer (see letters 5 and 6) to Cranevelt. Geldenhouwer was going with the royal retinue to Flanders (for the meeting between Charles and Henry VIII at Calais on 11-14 July). Vecerius writes to avoid Cranevelt's rebuke, but he has, in fact, little to communicate and is kept very busy at Court.

About himself then: three years ago he had accompanied Aloysius Bontianus to Sicily and, when Bontianus had gone back to Court, he had stayed behind with the viceroy, a most just, pious and learned man. After the return of Bontianus, the latter and the viceroy felt that Vecerius should seek a position in the palace. But a fortnight after his arrival in Barcelona, Margrave Johann of Brandenburg sent him on a mission to France (possibly to arrange affairs connected with the marriage of Johann and Germaine de Foix). At the end of May he had returned to the Margrave.

Vecerius mentions also that the king (Charles) will leave Brussels the next day to attend some games and feasts with the English king. The Archbishop of Cologne (viz. Hermann von Wied) has already arrived. The other Electors should be present at Aachen on 23 October for the coronation of Charles as emperor. The humanists have great expectations set on the new Caesar and make comparisons with the old Roman ones. Erasmus and some others, *inter alios* Jakob Hoogstraten and his followers, arrived earlier. Geldenhouwer will tell Cranevelt about it.

The information about the early career of Vecerius is almost entirely new. At a later stage of his life Vecerius wrote a short history of the 1516-17 revolts in Palermo against the viceroys Ugo de Moncata and Ettore Pignatelli. That *Historia de duabus seditionibus Siciliae sub imperio Caroli V imperatoris et regis Hispaniae, A. D. 1517*, is more or less promised in letter 14 of 24 September 1520, edited below. It was published by Henricus ab Eppendorf at Hagenau in 1531 (not mentioned in Eppendorf's biography in *CE* I, pp. 438-441) and, again, by J.G. Graevius at the very end of volume V of his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum ... Siciliae, Sardiniae, Corsicae* (Leiden 1723). In his dedication letter (ed. Graevius, col. [8-9]) Eppendorf says that he received a copy of the text from Claudius Cantiuncula, the well-known Lotharingian lawyer (cf. *CE* I, pp. 259-261) "proximis Augustanis comitiis", that is, at the diet of Augsburg, 1530. Cantiuncula had been a friend and pupil of Vecerius at Louvain and was planning an edition of the latter's works and letters in 1529, but he failed to convince Froben to print the volume. Eppendorf introduces Vecerius as follows: "Conradus author est Vecerius Lucenburgensis, quem praeter animi insignes dotes civilisque prudentiae peritiam Divi Caroli Caesaris aula insigniorem reddidit; ex ea enim cum generoso D. Ugone de Moncata Hispano, Siciliae prorge in ipsam Siciliam coadiuva transmissus est..." In the *Historia* Vecerius gives more details, although he does not speak about himself.

Moncata had been overthrown by a popular revolt in Palermo. He fled to the imperial court in Germany, then returned to Italy, but stayed back in Rome. His office as viceroy of Sicily was taken over by Ettore Pignatelli who was faced with another insurrection in July-September 1517. In those difficult days Bontianus was one of the two closest counsellors, "secretiorum rerum participes"[col. 10D], of Pignatelli. The king (Charles) had sent him to Sicily "ad vectigalia inspicienda" and early in September he was proposed to serve as an intermediary between the insurgents and Charles V: "Aloysio...negotium dari repetendi Caroli amnestiaeque, si ulla ratione fieri posset, impetrandae" (col. 10E). That mission must be the journey "rebus urgentibus" mentioned in Vecerius's letter. From other sources we know that Alois Bont was a Brabant councillor, who undertook several diplomatic voyages. In 1510 he had gone to England accompanied by the humanist poet Remaclus Arduenna. Cf. J. IJsewijn and D.F.S. Thomson, "The Latin Poems of Jacobus Follisius or James Foullis of Edinburgh", *HL* 24 (1975), 102-152 (pp. 148-149). On Vecerius's career see H. de Vocht, *Jerome de Busleyden... His Life and Writings*, *HL* 9 (Turnhout 1950), pp. 425-427.

Spectatissime vir,

- S<alve>. Quum Gerardus Noviomagus communis amicus isthuc in regio comitatu profecturus se diceret, admoneretque numquid ad Craniveldium vellem scribere, non potui non scripturum me polliceri,
- 5 quippe qui probe intellegerem, quam prompta foret homini, siquidem negavissem, severitas expostulandi praetermissionem officii. Probissime nanque novit Gerardus, ut est in hominibus diiudicandis acutus, quanta mihi tecum multos iam annos consuetudo ac potius necessitudo intercedit et colitur. Itaque de ratione scriptae epistulae satis.
- 10 Nunc quid ea continere recte possit, vix ipse satis intelligo. Neque enim iocosum neque grave genus ullum tractare mihi licet. Sed nec tertio illi manus admoveo possum, ut si quae res tua intersint ut scias, tibi significem. Quum hoc ipso quod in Aula degimus, inter occupatissimos, aut certe a scribendi ac studendi tranquillitate longe alienissimos
- 15 reponi iure optimo valeam, et omnino Noviomagus ipse vicem accuratissimae quoque ac fusissimae epistulae scribere rectissime [[valeat]] noverit.

- Utcunque, mi humanissime Craniveldi, quamquam — ut audisti —, litteras meas prope vacaturas demonstravi, unum hoc indicare tibi
- 20 statui: Vecerium esse etiamnum eum et deinceps dum fungitur vita futurum, qui ante tria [haec?] lustra¹ esse coeperat, hoc est Craniveldii

¹ Vecerius, a native of Luxembourg, came to Louvain as a student in August 1503, about two years after Cranevelt. Both were members of the same *Paedagogium Falconis* (*De Valk*), one of the four colleges of the Arts Faculty.

sui aman[tissimum], observantissimum, studiosissimum, nilque magis optare quam ut [illi] // eas appellationes paribus officiis ostendere quandoque possit.

- 25 De meis rebus: quum ante triennium Cl<arissimum> V<irum> Al<oyssium> Bontianum² sectatus fuissem in Siciliam, isque mox regiis rebus urgentibus expeditus in Aulam redivisset, me apud Ill<ustrissimum> Do<minum> Proregem³ inter libelliones reliquit, Comitem singulari vel equitate, vel religione, vel item quod mirere doctrina.
- 30 Inde quum reverso Bontiano de meo statu dispexissemus, visum utrique eorum fuit, ut quam ocysissime locum quempiam in regia convenarer. Neque diu disquisitio tenuit, quippe decimoquinto fere die quam Barchinonem tetigeram, in Galliam ad negotia quedam procuranda ab Ill<ustrissimo> Do<mino> Jo<anne> March<ione> Brandeburgensi⁴ fui destinatus. Quam curam quum absolvissem, exitu Maii mensis Marchionem repetivi. Haec hactenus.

- Rex, quod scitis, cras hinc est profecturus, ludos et festos dies aliquot cum Britannis isthic exacturus. Archiepiscopus Ubiorum⁵ iampridem advenit. Caeteris Lectoribus dies XI Kalendarum Octobrium⁶ primarum praeconstitutus est ad inaugurationem apud Aquas Grantias obeundam. Quam rem Christus Opt<imus> Max<imus>, ut adhuc, rite secundare dignetur. Initia rerum certe novo principi omnia amplissima pollicentur. Litterarum eruditi suam quoque sortem hoc Caesare meliorem futuram existimant, quod eius rei exempla plurima ex antiquitate reperiant, ut maximis semper Ro[manorum Caesaribus] grandis ingeniorum proventus extiterit.
- 45

Erasmus⁷ adeo [] Jenus alique nonnulli, Hogestratum⁸ inquam cum

² On Alois Bont see the introductory note to this letter.

³ The Viceroy was Ettore Pignatelli, Count of Monteleone, who stayed in office from 1516 to 1535. He was known as a peaceful and pious man. See *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XXVII, p. 269.

⁴ Johann, margrave of Brandenburg (* 9 I 1493 — † Valencia 5 VII 1526) was in the service of Charles I from 1515. As a reward for his services during the negotiations for the election of the new emperor he was appointed viceroy of Valencia.

⁵ Hermann von Wied (1477-1552), archbishop of Cologne from 14 March 1515 to his resignation in 1547. See *CE* III, pp. 444-446.

⁶ Vecerius erroneously wrote 'Octobrium' instead of 'Novembrium'. The actual date is 23 October, which in Roman style is *XI Kal. Novembres*.

⁷ Erasmus was at Antwerp on 25 June (Allen 1117) and back at Louvain on 30 July (Allen 1122).

⁸ Jacobus of Hoogstraten, the famous Dominican theologian and opponent of Reuchlin, had been on a confidential mission to the Louvain Theological Faculty since October 1519. Early in 1520 he and Erasmus met there and were (more or less) reconciled.

asseclis, [propera?]⁹to, velut ad Cymbricam praedam⁹ iampridem advo-
larunt.//

- 50 Sed haec Gerardus et nuntiare poterat, et non recensere non poterit.
Quid igitur opus epistula? Nempe ut homini amiciss<imo> ex me
quoque cognita forent, quae et a fama et a caeteris amicorum narranda
sciebam. Vale, vir spectatissime.

Bruxellae, vi Nonarum Quint<ilium> 1520

- 55 D<ominationis> T<uae> servitor perpetuus
Conradus Vecerius, manu propria.

A tergo: Spectat<issi> mo et ornat<issi> mo / Fran<cis> co Cran-
neveldio, / U<triusque> Iur<is> Doct<ori> ac Rei-
p<ublicae> / Brugarum Actori, / Amico antiq<uo>

- 60 Brugas.

Ep. 11. G. Geldenhouwer (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

11 (f.19)

[ca. 29 VII 1520]

Geldenhouwer begs Cranevelt to convey a note to Master Leonardus (Clodius) through the good offices of his servant Andreas. He himself is packing his luggage because they will leave the next morning very early. He will come and say goodbye to Cranevelt before departing.

This letter must have been written when Geldenhouwer was at Bruges in the retinue of king Charles. The king stayed at Bruges from 25 to 29 July and perhaps a few days longer. Geldenhouwer's patron, bishop Philip, may also have left Bruges towards the end of the month. The theatrical performance, during which Master Leonardus had sung, according to Geldenhouwer's remarks, was probably one of the public entertainments of the Court. Princely visits usually were an occasion for schools to stage a play. Geldenhouwer's note may well have been an acknowledgment from Philip. Clodius continued his dramatical activities in later years. On 26 January 1523 his pupils performed a *Compendium Epicureae theologiae* composed by himself, but now lost. On Clodius see *Lit. Cran.* 39.

⁹ The expression 'Cimbrica praeda' is found in Sallust, *Frg. Hist., Or. Lepidi* 17, and refers to the rich booty taken by the Romans when Marius had slain the Germanic tribe of the Cimbri in the Po valley, 101 B.C.

S<alve> domine doctor. Facies mihi rem gratam, si miseris famulum tuum Andream¹ ad illum M<agistrum> Leonardum, qui versiculos theatri affixos cecinit, cum meis hisce literulis². Nos crastina die summo mane profecturi occupati sumus in colligendis sarcinis. Attamen salutabo [[fe]]³ te priusquam abeam⁴. Vale.

Tuus frater

Noviomagus Geldenhower.

Ep. 12. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

12 (f.20)

<ca. 30 VII 1520>

Vives has so far not had an opportunity to pay a visit to Cranevelt because he has had to be at the disposal of the courtiers. He knew, however, that he could see Cranevelt after the departure of the king (on 29 July or thereabouts). So, he will come the next day to say good-bye at the hour Cranevelt fixes. He asks Cranevelt to invite Fevynus as well.

The Cardinal (viz. De Croy) very much wants to read the oration Cranevelt has given before the king on 24 July. If Cranevelt has two copies, Vives will take one with him to Ghent and send it back soon. If he has not, they will discuss how to provide the Cardinal with a copy.

Sal<ve>, mi Cranavel<di>. Primum mihi est abs te petenda venia, quod hisce diebus te non inviserim. Si non accipis ullam excusationem, confiteor culpam. Sin accipis, satisfaciendum fuit aulicis. Te hic sciebam remansurum, quem possem post abitum regis videre et alloqui; uti et faciam cras ea hora, quam mihi praestitueris, ut dicam tibi 'vale'. Para mihi postremam epistolam tuam ad me, nam nolo carere fructu lectionis eius. Fac adsit, fieri si potest commode, Fevinus noster, ut et illi dicam 'vale'. Tu quoque tantisper vale.

Cardinalis magnopere optat legere eam orationem, quam apud

¹ Andreas was a trusted and highly esteemed servant of Cranevelt who occurs several times in the correspondence. See *Lit. Cran.* 90, 127 and the index to the volume.

² This letter to Leonardus <Clodius> has not survived.

³ The first letter is uncertain and may be "s". "Fe" could be the beginning of the name "Fevinum".

⁴ In the event, Geldenhower did not have an opportunity to take leave of Cranevelt. See letter 62.

Regem proxime habuisti pridie D<ivi> Jacobi¹. Si habes duo exemplaria, alterum feram mecum Gandavum² remissurus brevi. Sin minus, loquemur de ea re, quomodo poterimus facere copiam eius Cardinali. Rursus vale.

Tuus f<idelis> Vives.

Ep. 13. H. Barlandus (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

13 (f.21)

[7] IX 1520

Letter written after a visit of Cranevelt to Louvain (obviously in August). His book on Charles the Bold, which he had shown to Cranevelt for corrections, has not yet been sent to the printer. In the mean time he is making a collection of jokes from Macrobius and other ancient writers for the use of students. He will perhaps publish them very soon. He regrets that the distance which separates them, and the difficulties of sending letters and books, prevents him from making more use of Cranevelt's expert judgment.

Barlandus has lost contact with Geldenhouwer, but not with Borsalus, who is always trying to find him a good position. The "Imperial Institutions" have been published in a Dutch translation and are available in the bookshops at Louvain. Barlandus has begun to compare it with the *codex [Justinianus]*, or perhaps [*iuris civilis*], and so far he has found everything rather [obscure] to understand. The edition Barlandus is mentioning is the *Institutiones Imperiales: Instituten, een gerechtich oorspronck der keiserlycke rechten. Van den hoochgeleerden Heere Thomaes Murner inder godheyt Doctoer ende in beyden rechten licentiaet, in die duytsche tale overgheset ende in die hoghe schole ende universiteyt te Basele in syn gheordineerde lecture openbaerlic mitten Latijn gheleken*, Antwerp, Claes de Graeve, 14 June 1520. See NK I n° 1240. A second edition appeared on 24 November 1534 (ib. n° 1241).

On Borsalus see letters 23-24 and 29.

Salvus sis, doctiss<ime> Cran[[t]]eveldi. Post tuum hinc discessum nullus mihi tabellarius obtigit cui litteras ad te darem. Nunc has

¹ 24 July, the feast of St. James being on 25 July. The king travelled on July 21-25 by way of Wijnendale and Maldegem to Bruges, where he arrived on the 25. Cranevelt's oration must have been a speech of welcome on behalf of the Bruges magistrates when the king was approaching the town.

² It seems that De Croy had already left for Ghent (and Brussels) and that Vives had stayed behind for a couple of days.

exaravi, quo scires me tui nunquam esse immemorem. Libellus meus de rebus gestis Caroli Burgundi, quem estate proxima, quum hic esses, 5 legendum limandumque tibi in manum tradidi, nondum est illatus officine librarie¹. Collegimus interim [[e]] succisvis temporibus ex Macrobio et aliquot preterea scriptoribus antiquis iocos festiviores, quos ad iuvenum utilitatem scholiis illustratos fortasse propediem emittam². Utinam hec et similia ex tuo, hoc est doctiss<imi> iuxta ac 10 facundissimi hominis iudicio liceret aut publicare aut suppressere. Verum id commode fieri non potest; nimis enim longa viarum intercapedine seiungimur. Et rarius offeruntur idonei, quibus aut litteras aut libros committere possim.

Amici hic omnes pulcherrime valent. Gerardo conterraneo tuo³ 15 prorsus excidi; Borsalus⁴, unicum Zelandie mee decus antiquum, obtinet. De me inaurando cogitare non desinit.

Imperiales Institutiones⁵ in linguam nostratam verse prostant Lovanii. Eq[uidem] cepi Teutonicam traductionem conferre cum [Iustiniano⁶] codice, et hactenus repperi omnia sub[obscura?] prorsus intellectu. Bene valeat T<ua> D<ominatio>, [cui] quam commendatissimus esse cupio. 20

L[ovanii, pridie N]ativitatis Marie.

Barlandus T<uus>

A tergo: Eloquentissimo Legum / Doctori M<agistro> Francisco / 25 Cranevelt oppidi Brugensis / primo secretario precep/tori meo.

¹ It was finally published by M. Hillen at Antwerp in January 1520 = 1521. On the date see above, letter 4.

² The *Iocorum veterum ac recentium duae centuriae cum scholiis* were not printed until June 1524, by Peter Martens at Louvain.

³ Viz. Geldenhouwer, who was travelling with his patron, bishop Philip of Burgundy.

⁴ Viz. Johannes Becker of Borsele, living at Veere in Zeeland.

⁵ Published at Antwerp, 14 June 1520. See above. In later years Rutger Rescius was forbidden by the University to use the *Imperiales Institutiones* and their Greek translation for his courses.

⁶ In the lacuna there is space for a long word or two shorter ones. It would also make sense to read [Iuris civilis], although those words usually follow 'codex'. For that reason we prefer the adjective.

Ep. 14. Conradus Vecerius (Brussels) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

14 (ff.22-23)

24 IX 1520

Vecerius is glad that his letter, brought to Bruges by Geldenhouwer (= letter 10) has pleased Cranevelt. He does not know, however, where in the world Geldenhouwer is staying now. There has been a rumour that he was lying ill in Artois (or: at Théroutanne) after his bishop had left Calais for Utrecht. Court life seems to please him so much that he may forget all about humanistic studies, unless Cranevelt admonishes him.

Vecerius certainly does not lack subjects to write about, such as his journey to Sicily, court life etc.; he just lacks time to do it. Perhaps he will publish some time a work on the Sicilian troubles he witnessed. In later years Vecerius indeed wrote such a work (see the introduction to letter 10 above).

Hutten's freedom of speech, which Cranevelt admires so much, greatly alarms Vecerius because Hutten's and some other scholars' utopian dreams of better government are a cause of great concern to the authorities. They would be better advised if they used their rhetoric for some other purposes. Enlarging on the subject of court life, Vecerius answers the question how he dares to praise it, when it is so severely criticised by others. Well, did not Ulysses serve Alcinoüs in order to obtain later an opportunity to live quietly at home? So, Vecerius will tolerate that life until he can retire. Moreover, he has a good and liberal patron. He would like to encourage young men to come to court: if we believe with the ancient philosophers that we must take part in political life, where can one do it better than in princely courts?

The king (Charles) left for Aachen four days ago, which will be old news for Cranevelt. The imperial coronation will be an exceptional event both for its magnificence and the number of attendants. Only the presence of the Duke of Saxony and of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg is in doubt, because they are far away and winter is coming. The date of Charles' departure from Brussels (20 september) is puzzling. According to Gachard (II 28) he left Louvain on 8 or 9 October after a visit of eight days. Where, then, was the king during the last ten days of September? The most likely explanation, as J. Roegiers suggests, is that he spent about ten days at the residence and hunting castle of the dukes of Brabant at Tervuren, halfway between Brussels and Louvain.

Vecerius asks Cranevelt if he has a friend at court to whom he can entrust his letters safely, because he cannot go in search every time of a messenger travelling to Bruges. This letter, written at Brussels, he will take to Louvain and put it in the hands of Cranevelt's relatives there.

S<alve>. Litteras nostras duplici [[tibi]] nomine gratas tibi extitisse maximopere, mi dulciss<ime> Craniveldi, gaudeo. Qui et agnitam tibi veteris amoris erga te mei constantiam et providentiam in tabellario deligendo¹ probari cognoverim. Ac quod ad rationem amandi pertinet,

¹ The letter (nr. 10) was given to Gerardus Geldenhouwer.

- 5 dabo quoad fieri poterit operam, ut integritas nostra deinceps quoque erga amantissimum nostri hominem in officio sit.

Gerardus autem, qui tabellarii partes acceperat, ubinam terrarum perstiterit, discere in hunc diem haud potui. Episcopo² eius nuper e Calesiano conventu³ Traiectum suum repetente, erant qui in Morinis⁴
 10 nescio ubi adversa valetudine decubuisse narrarent. Aulici certe consuetudo hominis imprimis expetitur, quam et mire iucundam et ad levandum molestia animum haud sane parum conducturam existimo. Cuius rei tu quoque locuplex (*sic!*) testimonium reddidisti, qui adeo perfusum laetitia fuisse demonstras, ut vixdum litterarumstrarum (nisi te
 15 admonente) in mentem illi venerit. Sed de Noviomago hactenus.

Quod negas, deesse mihi posse epistularum argumenta, cui de peregrinationum casibus, deque aulicae vitae statu ampla scribendi materia suppetat: Et haud dubie suppetit. Neque eam rem mihi superiore epistula negatam existimo⁵. Otii duntaxat querebar inopiam, ac nunc
 20 quoque fremo occupationum insaniam. Tu me aut de comprobando vitae huius genere, de narrandis Siciliensis itiner[is periculis], // de rebus aulicis, de editione operis alicuius commonefacere audeas? Qui praeterquam quod iuxta Horatium "Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, et fugit urbes"⁶, vix ullam hoc tempore materiem video, quod quidem ad
 25 rerum gestarum commentationem attinet, quae scribi cum gloria possit. Nam Siculos motus⁷ illos et spectavimus, mi Cran <ivel> di, et ploravimus, et favente Christo suo tempore publicabimus. Neque enim adeo invisos nos Musis arbitramur, ut non perceptam tot iam annis umbram facundiae conferre ad quantulamcumque exercitationem audeamus.
 30 Quanquam corvinum ovum, cuius non illepide meministi, ea infelicitate a Plinio nostro traditur⁸, ut si quam in domum illatum fuerit, difficile ibi puerperia proveniant.

Hutteni autem libertatem loquendi, quam tantopere mirabare⁹, ego

² Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht.

³ The meeting at Calais between Charles V and Henry VIII of England, 11-14 July.

⁴ Either Artois or, more precisely, the town of Thérouanne, the *Civitas Morinorum*. Letter 11 shows that Geldenhouwer came to Bruges at the end of July.

⁵ See letter 10, ll. 10-17 (p. 36).

⁶ Hor., *Epist.* II 2.77

⁷ Troubles linked with the establishment of Spanish-Habsburg rule in Southern Italy in the early 16th c.

⁸ Plin., *Nat. Hist.* X 32: "Ore [corv]os parere aut coire vulgus arbitratur ideoque gravidas, si ederint corvinum ovum, per os partum reddere atque in totum difficulter parere, si tecto inferantur."

⁹ Cranevelt obviously liked Hutten's *Aula* (Augsburg 1518). See also letter 5, n.6.

- vero imprimis exhorreo. Neque enim obscurum est, quantam et ille et
 35 ex eruditioribus alii quidam sibi turbam apud eos, qui rerum potiuntur,
 liberiore ne dicam an petulantiore scribendi facilitate concitaverint,
 dum eorum, qui civitates et regna moderantur, constituta vituperant,
 dum flagitia vocant, quae ab iis pro maximis ducuntur virtutibus, dum
 nova hac reip<ublicae> administrandae ratione damnata, veterem
 40 nescio quam requirunt [et] optant. Quasi vero nostri reges et proceres
 ea quae ab // illis docentur, pro Pythagoricis statim responsis accepturi
 sint, aut omnino lecturi, ac non mox, ut unum atque alterum de
 maledicentia hominum querentem forte audierint, ipsi quoque ilico pro
 Cynicis deputent; ita ut multo, mi Cran<ivel> di, melius et Huttenum
 45 et caeteros idem carpendi institutum profectos facturos existimem, si
 alias in theses odiosum illud declamandi genus impenderint, tantum
 abest ut imitandum suaserim. Porro de vitae huius approbatione queso
 qui fiat, ut vivendi genus aliquod laudare audeam, cuius de molestia et
 tonstrinae passim perstrepunt, et toti quoque libri conscripti iam extant.
 50 Cur igitur, quod probare non ausis, usurpas et colis? Nam cur Ulyssi
 servire apud Alcinoem placuit¹⁰? Nisi, ut puto, quo domi aliquando,
 per tot aerumnas parta libertate frueretur. Itidem mihi, mi Cra<ni-
 vel> di, statutum est, casus tolerare omnes¹¹, donec me quoque
 "...fata meis patiantur ducere vitam
 55 auspiciis, et sponte mea componere curas."¹²
 Quanquam ut animi mei sententiam proferam, me in hunc certe diem
 instituti haud penitet, cui patronus evenerit neutiquam vel inhumanus
 vel illiberalis etiam. Neque item dehortandos industrios iuvenes cen-
 seam ab incolendis regiis, quippe si philosophos veteres illos audia-
 60 mus¹³, a quibus de capessenda rep<ublica> graviter copioseque trac-
 ta[ta // dispu]tatio est, quonam potius gentium, quam in aulas princi-
 pum (in quibus ut Novocomensis¹⁴ ait, et Resp<ublica> et nos
 sumus) ad publica munera obeunda migrandum est. Sed haec quoque

¹⁰ An allusion to the famous story in Homer's *Odyssey* VI-VIII of shipwrecked Ulysses at the court of Alcinoos, king of the Phaeacians and father of Nausicaa.

¹¹ The words 'casus tolerare omnes' were added above the line.

¹² Verg., *Aen.* IV 340-41: "Me si fata meis paterentur..."

¹³ Philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and Cicero. Vecerius is referring to the problem — very popular in humanist literature — of the *Vita activa* and the *Vita contemplativa*. See Ursula Rombach, *Vita Activa und Vita Contemplativa bei Cristoforo Landino* (Stuttgart 1991), esp. Ch. II, pp. 33-53.

¹⁴ Plin., *Paneg.* 72.1: "...sit optandum ut <prosperare cedant> uni tibi [=Traiano], in quo et respublica et nos sumus."

hactenus. Nam et perquam copiosus, ut nosti, locus est, et ab epistulae
65 brevitatem alienior, denique otiosis relinquendus.

Vide autem quam et meum otium, cuius de inopia ante querebar, ipse
prodidero, tot versuum conscripta epistula! Illud apud vos quoque
vetus existimo, regem ante hoc quatrimum Aquense iter instituisse.
Opinio autem est, singularem eam celebritatem futuram, vel apparatu,
70 vel multitudine hominum. Quanquam de Saxone et Brandiburgaeo
etiamnum dubium est, sintne eo accessuri¹⁵. Qui et degant longius, et
hyemis propinquitatem excludi videantur.

Quaeso, mi Cr<anivel>di, scribe ad me num quem in aula amicorum
obtineas, qui litteras ad te nostras mittere valeat velitque. Ego enim
75 illud simpliciter fateor, non posse me quaerendis tabellariis, qui Brugas
eant, incumbere. Cuius affirmationis vel hoc est testimonium, quod
epistolam hanc Bruxellae conscriptam Lovanium mecum ferre decreverim,
affinibus ibi tuis eam crediturus. Vale, mi ornat<issi> me et
suaviss<ime> Cra<nivel>di doctor.

80 Bruxellae, viii Cal<endas> Octobr<es> 1520

Ex<cellen>tiae T<uae>

Eximius Cultor,

Conr<adu>s Vecerius, manu propria.

Ep. 15. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

15 (f.25)

10 X <1520>

Since he left Bruges (see letter 12) Vives has been too busy to write: first he had to participate in court life. Eventually he went back to Louvain, where he worked at his Dialectics, which — like a lovely girl — made him forget everything else. Vives congratulates Cranevelt for the commissions (or: favours?) he has received from 'Alorus', a very worthy man.

Greetings to Fevynus and to Cranevelt's wife, mother of so many dear little ones. His haste prevents Vives from recalling the Roman date, but he thinks it is the 10 of October.

¹⁵ Cardinal Albert [Albrecht] of Brandenburg (1490-1545), a supporter of Charles from the very beginning of the imperial election, attended the Coronation and was very honourably treated by the emperor. On Albert see *CE* I, pp. 184-187 and B. Roland (ed.), *Zum 500. Geburtstag eines deutschen Renaissancefürsten. Albrecht von Brandenburg, Kurfürst, Erzkämmerer, Kardinal 1490-1545* ([Ausstellungskatalog] Landesmuseum Mainz 1990).

The name 'Alorus' is puzzling: the word is neither Greek nor Latin, but it must signify a very highly placed person. We wonder if it is a (slightly incomplete) anagram of Carolus, viz. the king. As the next letter shows, something of the highest importance for Cranevelt was going on. He obviously stood at a crossroads in his career, having to decide whether to stay in Bruges or to seek another appointment. We know that Charles nominated Cranevelt on 27 September 1522 to a seat as Councillor in the Mechlin Parliament. It seems possible, therefore, that Cranevelt had made a favourable impression on Charles when he visited Bruges in July and was addressed by Cranevelt in an official oration (See letter 12), and that Cranevelt had been given some 'munera' to execute for the king. This contact would lead ultimately to his appointment as a councillor in Mechlin.

Vives Cranaveldio Suo S.

Non male coniectasti, mi Cranaueldi suaviss<ime>, me aliis studiis detineri, quae mihi impedimento fuerint, quo minus ad te scripserim. Primum ex quo istinch (*sic!*)¹ abii, perbelle sum in aula nugatus; ibi
 5 studium fuit et salutandi et assectandi et assentandi et astandi. Redii Lovanium. Ibi excepit me totum dialectica², iucunda scilicet puella, et moribus perquam amoenis, quae me mei fere coegit oblivisci. Quod nisi tuis litteris velut pharmaco admonitorio essem excitatus, plane erat
 10 periculum, ne quum alii amici, tum vero tu atque ego mihi excidissemus. De Aloro video qu[[id]]ae dicis. Ego vero puto illum virum laudari satis non posse pro dignitate. Gratulor tibi munera, quae puto te amare, non quod haudquaquam vulgaria sunt, sed quod ab illo data.

Vale, mi Cranaveldi, et pro candore tuo da veniam brevitati nostrarum litterarum, quam facit mea ista διαλεκτική ἀσχολή.³
 15 *Manu Vivis addita* : Saluta mihi Fevinum dulciss<imum> nostrum et tuam festiviss<imam> gallinam⁴, quae tibi tam dulces et tot edit pullos.

Lovanii, quibus Idibus aut Calendis non memini, diem sed puto esse decimum Octobris. Vide quam festinanter!

20 *A tergo*: Viro quam Eruditiss<imo> D<omino> Francisco / Cranaveldio amico meo / integerr<imo> Pensionario / oppidi Brugen<sis>.

¹ Viz. from Bruges in the company of the Court.

² Vives probably means the chapter on dialectics in his *De disciplinis* or his *De ratione dicendi*. Both these works were published more than ten years later at Bruges.

³ Another example of bad Greek. It should be ἀσχολος.

⁴ Vives several times uses the word "chicken" to indicate Cranevelt's wife!

Ep. 16. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

16 (f.26)

< ca. 28-31 X 1520 >

“Nivellanus”, viz. Professor Johannes Stevens or Stephani from Nivelles (Nijvel) in Brabant, South of Brussels, has at last died, but...*de mortuis nil nisi bene*.

Stevens became professor extraordinarius of Civil Law in 1505 and ordinarius in 1517. On 18 Augustus 1517 he got his doctorate “Utriusque Iuris” and was elected rector of the University of Louvain on 28 February 1519. He died on 27 October 1520, which gives us an approximate date for this letter of Vives written in October (see letter 17, line 1). Vives mentioned Stevens also in letters 8 and 9. See also *HCT* I, p. 320, n.1.

Vives asks Cranevelt to tell him what he has in mind to do about his career: does he prefer town administration or a councillor’s position? If Cranevelt wants the latter, Vives will recommend him to influential persons, although this is not really necessary: his exemplary life and exceptional learning are well-known to all honest people. Even those who only think of gold will have to recognise it.

It seems fairly sure that Vives makes an allusion to the possibility of an appointment in the Mechlin High Council. The influential persons may have been men such as Cardinal de Croy or even Johannes Robbijn, the dean of the Mechlin Saint-Rombouts-chapter, who according to a later letter of Cranevelt was instrumental in getting him the position. See *Lit.Cr.* 25, ll. 29-32 (to Adrian VI): “Eius viri diligentia ac singulari commendatione nuper asscitus sum in [Summum] Senatum Mechliniensem ut sim a consiliis (cf. ἐμπνεῖα!) Sacratissime Cesaree [Maiestatis], cum septem fere annos Brugis essem versatus in republ[ica]” (cf. πολιτεία!).

Vives promises to send longer letters in the future. This month he sent one in care of the Spaniard Petrus Castellus. Collect the letter if you did not yet get it. Greetings to Fevynus, Cranevelt’s wife and Laurinus.

Vives Craneveldio suo S <alutem >

Abiit tandem ὁ Νιβέλλανος ἐξ οὐρανόν¹. Precor. Nam in mortuis in locum invidiae succedit misericordia.

Tu fac intelligamus quam primum, ecquid habeas in animo de istoc negocio, utrum malis πολιτείαν² an ἐ<ρ>μηνείαν?³ Si illam, bene
5 tibi vertat. Sin hanc, commendabimus te iis, per quos profecturos nos

¹ On “Nivellanus”, Professor Johannes Stevens, see above, introduction.

² A function in the ‘polis’ or ‘respublica’, viz. the town of Bruges.

³ Vives has again made an error in his Greek. He writes the word correctly in letter 20 of December 1. The Greek term means ‘interpretation’ (viz. of laws etc.) and could be used, therefore, to speak indirectly of a councillor’s position.

speramus, quamvis mihi et mores totaque vita et singularis tua eruditio commendatiss<ima> omnibus per se videatur, qui modo eam norunt; aliis, si declaretur, — illis videlicet, qui nihil cernunt non admoniti nisi fulvas harenas⁴ — erit non minus commendata. Tute consule ipse.

10 Nam nemo melius te rationes novit rerum tuarum.

Vale. Promitto tibi, me posthac proluxius et accuratius scripturum ad te. Hoc ipso mense scripsi tibi per Petrum Castellum Hispanum⁵. Fac recipias epistolam, si nondum est tibi reddita. Iterum vale. Saluta mihi Fevinum meum, gallinam tuam, Laurinum nostrum.

15

Lovanii.

A tergo: Eruditiss<imo> Viro D<omino> Francisco / Cranaveldio Iurisconsulto / ac pensionario Brugensi.

Brugis.

Ep. 17. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

17 (f.27)

11 XI <1520>

Vives has not yet received an answer to his two letters of October (See nrs. 15 and 16). Cranevelt seems to have changed his custom of writing frequently: why? Vives regrets that Cranevelt is perhaps a little angry with Vives and his friends because they preferred another 'Hercules' to him. Some rather obscure allusions now follow, partly in Greek, in which the name Apostolus is mentioned. That must be Petrus Lapostolius of Tournai [Doornik] (d. Mechlin 20 April 1532), a former professor and rector of the University of Louvain and, since 1502, a member of the Mechlin High Council. He was a good friend of Vives. See *Lit. Cr.* 30, Introduction.

The letter will be carried to Bruges by a woman, a relative of a good friend of

⁴ 'Fulva harena' (gold) does not seem to occur in ancient authors, but one finds related expressions ('fulvus limus'; 'fulva glare'), especially referring to the Spanish gold-bearing river Tagus.

⁵ Perhaps a relative of Catarina de la Torre or Del Castillo, who in 1511 married Francisco del Rio, a merchant of the Spanish 'nation' in Bruges. See *Lit. Cr.* 92, note 2. From 1553-75 a Petrus Delrio, alias Castillo, was canon of St. Donatian's. He may be either a younger namesake or even the same man as the one mentioned by Vives here. See *Lit. Cran.* 92, 14 (note). The name Del Castillo was not exceptional among the Spaniards established in the Southern Netherlands. See J. A. Goris, *Études sur les colonies marchandes méridionales... à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain, 1925), index (pp. 667-668).

Vives, who twenty years ago came as a poor maidservant to a household where she was seduced by the son. That young man died soon afterwards, but not without fulfilling at the last moment his promise to marry her. In the following years the young widow did not always behave as one might wish, but when her father died he nevertheless left the same rights to her as to his other children. The young widow, either for shame or because she was confident her mother would treat her on the same basis as her brothers, did not claim her share for a certain period of time, but now she is compelled to do so out of sheer want. Her mother, however, refuses it. The widow has obtained a letter from the king to the Bruges town council enjoining it to do her justice. Vives recommends her warmly to Cranevelt. In letter 20 Vives will thank Cranevelt for his prompt and efficient intervention.

Greetings to Fevynus, to Cranevelt's wife and children.

Viues Cranaveldio suo S.

Binas ad te litteras dedi superiore mense; quas si accepisti, nec respondisti tamen, consulo te, quae actio mihi adversum te competit? Quo iure possum in foro amicitiae tecum agere apud tribunal διὸς
 5 ἐκείνου φίλιου¹? Atqui solebas πολύγραφος esse. Nunc quum subito sis mutatus, magnopere vereor ne quid noui inciderit. Prospera esse omnia precor, reliqua non ita multum me angent, sive negotiorum tuorum non sinit ratio, sive argumentum scribendi vel nullum est, vel
 10 tenue admodum atque sterile, sive nonnihil offensus es, quod tanto tempore nihil tibi scripserim. Haec omnia tranquilliss<imus> animus meus aequi boni facit. In illis nulla est mea culpa; in hoc satisfiet tibi a me quum voles. Illud dolet, quod forte subirasceris nobis omnibus qui τὸν οὐκ οἶδά τινα ἕτερον δῆθεν Ἡράκλεα praeposuerimus tibi²; τοῦτο δὲ κοινὸν ἔγκλημα, quo aequius est, non propterea te intermittere
 15 iucundam nostram consuetudinem. Νῆ δία πάντες καλλίας παιδίας³ σπουδαῖοι πολὺ ἄρα ἐλυπησάμεθα, ἢ συ, ἀλλὰ τί πάθοιμεν ἄν; ἦται καὶ ὁ Ἀποστολὸς. Οὗτοι δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐδεδίασαν, μὴ ὁ Ἡράκλης ἐκεῖνος κινῇ τραγωδίαν τινα, aut potius ne ad catastrophē illam, quam olim coeperat, perduceret. Rem iuxta atque ego tenes.
 20 Haec quae tibi has reddet litteras, est consanguinea cuiusdam amici mei, usque adeo familiaris et in consuetudine atque convictu mihi

¹ The god of friendship (ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος) appears *inter alia* in Lucian's works. See e.g. *Toxaris* 11-12. Translation in the margin: deus amicitiae.

² It is not clear whom Vives means by the name of 'Heracles'. They (who?) fear lest he should cause a tragedy, or rather bring to final catastrophe the tragedy which he has already begun. Translation in the margin: alterum quasi Herculem.

³ Vives' secretary first wrote παιδίας being probably misled by the pronunciation. The correction was added above the line.

coniuncti, ut quod in eius gratiam non fecero, non videar mihi pro fratre germano facturum. Ea annos ab hinc circiter viginti ex domo paterna in alienam migravit, ut ministerii conditione et tenuitati parentum minus esset molesta, et fortunam sibi aliquam meliorem agendo, laborando conciliaret. Ipsa vero postmodum, et iuvenis et censu tenui, promissis filii familias eius[[dem]] domus, in qua famulabatur, spe coniugii capta est. Obiit non multo post ipse adolescens liberata sua fide; nam paulo antequam ex vita decederet, uxorem eam duxit. Vidua ipsa et in ardore iuventae, et inops, tum etiam procul ab his, qui et consilium et modum servandae pudicitiae poterant adhibere, se ipsam interdum parum recte habuit, impellente tum praemio, tum spe, tum etiam inconsulta iuventute. Obiit interea temporis pater eius, relicta hac eodem iure, quo caeteris liberis. Ipsa, vel quod puderet eam in conspectu matris venire, vel quod non dubitaret eadem se charitate a matre complexum iri, qua fratres suos, foreque ut sibi pars haereditatis brevi redderetur, supersedit aliquantispetere, ne nunc quidem petitura, nisi maiore necessitate premeretur quam ut diutius aut dissimulare, aut non adiuuvare se ac subvenire sibi de suo posset. Itaque eadem necessitate compulsataque incitata saepe alias portionem bonorum paternorum a matre petiit; quae exosa filiam, ut sunt in affectus immodicae mulieres omnes, nescio quid causata est cur differret dare. Quocirca impetravit haec litteras a rege ad vestrum senatum, quibus vobis iniungit princeps, ut curetis reddi huic bona sua. Verum tum haec ista, tum alia permulta mulier ipsa narrabit tibi, nec dubitat, quod et ego facile credo, magnum istius negotii momentum futurum te. Idcirco me amicus ille meus, qui me apud te posse plurimum sibi persuasit, rogavit, ut quam possem accuratissime illam tibi commendarem; quodque et ego, mi Cranaveldi, vere atque ex animo facio, nec velim existimes commendationem hanc meam unam quamlibet esse de vulgaribus illis. Fac, quaeso te, ut et ipsa misella iuvenis et amicus hic meus gratias mihi quam maximas ob hanc istam commendationem agant.

Haec ad te dictavi a prandio. Tu velim ad nos primo quoque tempore des litteras, quales soles, hoc est non eloquentiss<imas> solum, sed suaviss<imas> quoque. Vale. Lovanii, XI Novembris.

(*manu Vivis*) Fevino nostro multam ex me salutem, tum etiam gallinae tuae et pull<is>.

D<editissimus>...

A tergo : Iurisconsulto eruditiss<imo> D<omino> / Francisco Craneveldio amico / meo integerr<imo>, Pensionario / Brugensi.

Ep. 18. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

18 (f.28)

18 XI <1520>

Fevynus has made mention of Cranevelt's verses against Hazard of Edingen in a letter to Hovius, but did not dare to add the text without Cranevelt's consent. Therefore he is sending him the letter for him to add them if he wants to do so. Fevynus has avoided eliciting an answer from Hovius lest it may seem an indirect request for his work. Fevynus's words are rather obscure and we are not sure that we understood him correctly.

Cranevelt added a note leaving the decision to Fevynus.

Johannes Hovius, about whom little is known, was in the service of Erasmus from 1518 to 1523 or thereabouts. On 2 March 1521 he sent letters from Louvain to Cranevelt and Fevynus (*Lit. Cran. Bald.* 34 and 35). See *CE* II, p. 208.

Hazardus or Hasardus is the name of two brothers, the Dominican Jacobus and the Carmelite Julianus (d. 1525), from Edingen / Enghien (hence: Angianus = Edingus) in Southern Brabant on the Dutch-French language border-line. At the end of 1520 Dirk Martens published an *Apologia Fratris Jacobi Hasardi Angiani* at Louvain. It was actually written by Julianus and offers an interpretation of the beginning of the Gospel of St. John which is critical of Erasmus. See *CE* II, pp. 166-167.

Doctiss<ime> et idem longe humaniss<ime> Craneveldi. In epistula ad Hovium memini carminis tui in Angianum Hazardum. Sed non ausus sum te inconsulto literis inserere meis. Quod si tu voles ipse insculpi, en tibi mitto imprimas¹. De industria item omitto ut illi
 5 respondendi ansam praebeam, quo vel sic illius scripta [[tacite]] clanculum extorqueam et ille per literas petat. Hoc te scyre volui. Bene vale. E cubiculo nostro, 14 Cal<endas> Decembres.

Quod si voles iam mitti, remittes tum carm<en>

Fevynus tui amantiss<imus>

10 manu Craneveldii: Rem permisi eius arbitrio.

¹ If the reading 'imprimas' is correct (but it looks rather like 'impraemas'; Fevynus perhaps used the medieval form 'impremere' instead of the classical one 'imprimere') the particle 'ut' seems to be missing between 'mitto' and the subjunctive. 'Imprimere' here means 'to seal (a letter)'.

For the rather unusual use of the verb 'insculpere' in this context, cp. Quintilian I 1.27, on learning to write: "Non inutile erit eos (= litterarum ductus) tabellae quam optime insculpi."

a tergo: Prestantiss<imo> Iurisconsulto / D<omi>no et M<a-
gistro> Francisco / Craneveldio, amico primario.

manu Craneveldi: 20 decembris

in angulo dextro, scriptura transversa:

- 15 Karolus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator / et Hispaniarum rex
 Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos

Ep. 19. Johannes Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

19 (f.29)

Received 21 XII <1520>

An example of Fevynus's ignorance or forgetfulness: he could not remember, as Cranevelt had asked, where he had read the word 'Agathuto' or something of the kind. After Cranevelt had suggested the previous evening that perhaps he had been mistaken, he has been looking through his books again and, finally, he found 'Acoluthus' in (Erasmus's) New Testament. If Cranevelt does not yet agree that Fevynus is now right, he refers him to the *Annotationes* of Erasmus or of Budé, or even the Greek texts.

The reference to Budé is puzzling. As far as we could ascertain Budé does not mention the word in his *Annotationes in xxiiii Pandectarum libros* published by Badius in 1508 (See P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius*, 2nd edition, Paris 1963, vol. II, p. 229, A1), but in his *Annotationes posteriores* [or: *reliquae*] in *Pandectas* which came from Badius's press in 1526, five years after this letter was written! See Renouard, p. 231 B1. Fevynus and his friends must have known an earlier edition.

- [S.] P. Videre sane licet, Craneveldi optime, quam omnino sapiam
nihil et, ut iocari soles, quam e Letheo¹ gustarim. Memineram ego alias
legisse me Agatutho aut simile quiddam, neque tamen cum adigeres ad
libros hoc tum reperire licuit, ymo ne librum ipsum. Quamobrem cum
5 hesterno vesperi eum mihi iniecisses scrupulum, ut errasse potuerim,
omnes evolvi plane libros, et ad extremum in Novo Testamento annota-
tum reperio illius loco Acoluthum; quod si tu etiam nunc mihi vix

¹ Lethaeo, viz. 'poculo', 'gurgite' or something similar. Cf. Lact., *Div. Inst.* III 18.16: "... ut ille solus Lethaeum gurgitem non adtigerit nec oblivionis aquam gustaverit." Lethe is the underworld river in classical mythology, the waters of which produced forgetfulness or sleepiness.

fidem adhibes, relego te ad Eras<mi> Annotationes² aut Budeanas³ atque adeo libros etiam Grecos. Proinde vel immutes tu licet, hoc erit
10 gratissimum. Vale.

Tuus Fevinus

(*Manu Craneveldi* ?) Die Thomae

in tergo: Ornatiss<imo> Iureconsulto / Do<mino> et Magistro Francisco / Craneveldio amico singulari.

Ep. 20. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

20 (ff. 30-31)

1 XII <15> 20

This is an answer to three letters of Cranevelt: a letter written on 2 November but delivered after a second one written a little later; finally a letter brought while Vives was writing by the woman recommended in letter 17. The first letter seemed a long one, but it wasn't, because Cranevelt wrote as usual with widely spaced lines.

Vives is still distressed by the decay of dialectics. It is the fault of those pseudodialecticians, whom he calls brothel-keepers. Vives is planning a work on dialectics in good Latin for schools. He had begun to enter the House of the Law, but another mood led him away. He comes back to it in his leisure hours because he cannot forget a subject so dear to him. Before long he will penetrate into it thoroughly, viz. when he will think only of a more stable income and manner of life. The theologians have become so narrow-minded and oblige people to sail among so many rocks that a man of a somewhat freer cast of mind cannot but suffer shipwreck. That deters him from entering that path, certainly a splendid one if they wished, but now too narrow and unsafe. Here in Louvain the public hangman has burnt in the market-place and in the full light

² In his *Adnotationes*, Matt. I 19, Erasmus mentions the word 'Acoluthos' indeed among some other Greek words which have been wrongly explained by Peter Lombard because of his ignorance of Greek and his reliance on Isidore of Seville. The passage is as follows: "Et (idem Petrus) Acolytos sive, ut ego sane legendum arbitror, Acoluthos — sic enim Graeci famulos a corpore vocant — interpretatur ceroferarios." See Erasmus' *Opera*, LB VI, p. 7 Bi.

³ G. Budaei *Annotationes reliquae in Pandectas* [we quote from the 2nd edition, Lyons, Seb. Gryphius, 1551, pp. 90-91]: "Duorum tamen generum comites fuerunt, id est ἀκόλουθοι iudicum, id est, magistratuum... / ... His verbis apparet comites quosdam fuisse adiutores et ministros imperii publici et magistratus; alteros fuisse apparitores et domesticos proconsulis aut praesidis."

of day tons of Lutheran pamphlets, and Vives is afraid lest that may produce a really big fire. He desires that God may always give his Church two things: good sense and tranquillity. The second follows if the first is present.

Georgius Saueremannus is a German, not a Spaniard as Cranevelt thought. Vives has not yet read his (*Hispaniae*) *Consolatio* but has talked to the man a couple of times at Louvain and at Court. He makes a really learned impression and is a good latinist. It is indeed a pity that Spaniards are fighting all the time instead of limiting themselves to debates.

On Cranevelt's "councillorship" [see letters 15 and 16] Vives will write extensively when the matter is settled. He sees that Cranevelt sets his hope on God, which is the true philosophical and theological spirit. True theology is not found in hairsplitting disputations; it is to know and to adore God, to understand that He governs everything in His wisdom and that we are in darkness. Our greatest wisdom is to know that we know nothing and to trust in God.

Vives and Cranevelt are enthusiastic students of Greek. Cranevelt does not need Vives's admonitions; moreover, Vives has decided never more to admonish anybody, because he has had a painful experience with well-intended counsel. People do not want to be set right.

So far for the letter of 2 November. The second letter was brought by Robert, a servant of Laurinus, and needs no further answer. But Cranevelt must not put the title "professor", or "master" for that matter, before Vives's name. He is no professor and does not want to be called so.

Vives received yet another letter carried by the woman with the problem over her inheritance. She is extremely grateful for Cranevelt's help. On Cranevelt's question as to what Vives thinks of Cantiuacula's "triumvirate" (Alciati, Zasius and Budé, the leading lawyers according to Cantiuacula) he does not wish to give an opinion: to judge living persons is always a delicate matter. Speaking in strict confidence, Vives finds that Alciati is a man who strongly advertises his own wares. But this is a moral judgment, which does not concern his excellent scholarship; Vives has read almost nothing of Zasius, but what he knows is far beneath Budé's work in quality. Budé is the moon among the lesser stars. Vives insists that Cranevelt should not publicise these judgments.

Greetings to Fevynus, Laurinus, Carolus (Hedenbault) and Cranevelt's family.

Vives Cranaveldio suo S<alutem >

Binas tuas litteras accepi diversis temporibus et datas et redditas: quae priorem habebant diem, eas posterius, specie quidem satis longas, sed revera satis breves. Nam haec est ars vestra: separare versus, ut
5 moles fallat spectatorem non consyderantem raritatem. Haec dico, quia tu mihi brevitatem obiicis, quam velim resarcias aliarum loquacitate.

De dialectica plane movit me indignitas rei. Nam pulchram puellam et utilem generi humano lenones quidam — sit habitus honos tuis

- auribus — prostituerunt, conturpaverunt et conspurcaverunt: εἰσὶν δὲ
 10 οὗτοι οἱ ἑταῖροι οἱ ἔμοι ψευδοδιαλεκτικοί! Quo sermone est utendum,
 quum de illis loquimur, nisi hoc tam incondito, tam ridiculo? Itaque
 cogito dare scholis Latinis Latinam, ni fallor, dialecticam, qualem
 nondum puto traditam esse. In *Aedes legum* coeperam ingredi¹; ἔτερος
 δὲ μὲ θυμὸς ἔρκεν; reviso tamen horis successivis², nec oblivisci
 15 possum rei mihi charae, eritque brevi tempus, quo totum me in illius
 dedam penitissima penetralia, quum non cogitabo nisi περὶ τῶν
 ἀλφίτων et de aliquo certo vitae instituto, quandoquidem theologi in
 tantas angustias deducunt suam rem, ac inter tot scopulos cogunt
 enavigare, ut difficile sit homini paulo liberiori non facere naufragium.
 20 Quae res me hominem liberum ac solutum ab ineunda via illa praeclara
 sane atque magnifica, quando ita volunt, sed arcta nimis et parum certe
 tuta absterret. Hic non per publicum modo praeconem, sed per publi-
 cum quoque carnificem medio foro, media luce, nescio quot dolia
 librorumne dicam Lutheri an fasciculorum — hoc puto, nam liber erat
 25 unus aut alter — fasciculi permulti sunt concremati igne, de quo vereor
 ne magnum aliquod incendium suscitetur. Faxit Deus ut Ecclesia sua
 duabus rebus munita semper sit: sanis mentibus et quiete. Hanc credo
 affuturam, si illa non defuerit.

- Georgius Sauromanus³ Germanus homo est, non Hispanus, ut tu
 30 putas. Vellem esset! Eius *Consolationem* non legi. Colloquium mihi fuit
 aliquoties cum homine, et hic et in Aula. Videtur mihi probe doctus, et
 in litteris Latinis feliciter versatus. Quod ingenia Hispana in mutuam
 perniciem conversa dicis, utinam pugna esset ingeniorum duntaxat, et
 non potius corporum et dexterarum atque earundem armatarum; nam
 35 illam facile ferremus. Verum irata fata eos concitarunt, placatiora et
 benigniora ad concordiam mutuamque charitatem reducent.

¹ An interesting allusion to his interest in the study of law (see also letter 26) and, specifically, his little work *Aedes Legum*, published in 1519 together with a *Praefatio in Leges Ciceronis*. See the edition of C. Mattheussen, *Ioannes Ludovicus Vives, Praefatio in Leges Ciceronis; Aedes Legum* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1984)

² Read 'succisivis'.

³ Georg Sauermann (Breslau, ca. 1485-1527) was a rising star at that moment. After his studies he stayed at Bologna, where he composed an oration on the death of Maximilian I († 12 January 1519), which was published in February 1519 at Bologna, and reprinted at Basel in December 1520 together with Erasmus's *Panegyricus* and other compositions of the same kind. He went to Rome and thence to Spain, where he entered the service of Charles V. He accompanied the Emperor back to the Netherlands, and published at Louvain in 1520 a *Hispaniae consolatio*. In the autumn of the same year he returned to Rome, being appointed procurator to the Holy See.

- Περὶ ἑρμηνείας ἄλλης, quando res est confecta. Video te spes tuas omnes in Deum conferre, quod mirum quam mihi fuerit gratum. Hoc demum est vere philosophari, et vere agere theologum, non inquirere
- 40 muliebri clamore et rixa, quomodo intendatur⁴ actus moraliter bonus, quomodo remittatur, quomodo continetur⁵ et quamdiu, et alia per multa non modo minuta, sed futilia, que tam subtilia sunt, ut aciem mentis in ea intentam frangant. Est vere theologari, cognito et adorato numine illo principe naturae, intelligere cura illius // mundum univer-
- 45 sum resque nostras torqueri et agitari, illum scientissimum, illum sapientissimum esse; nos in tenebris, in nocte perpetua versari; illum praeterita, futura, extantia cernere ac disponere; nos vix praesens istud, quod inter manus nostras non tam est quam labitur, cognoscere, nescire quibus viis ad ea, quae vera bona sunt tendatur, ac ne ipsa quidem
- 50 solide ac expresse bona vix de imagine vel umbra nosse. Quocirca illa est una magna et admirabilis in homine sapientia, scire nos esse insipientissimos, illi nos credere totos et commendare, qui quum sapientiss<imus> sit⁶ nosque effinxerit, melius quae nobis conducant novit quam nos ipsi, quumque et beneficentiss<imus> sit nostroque generi
- 55 salutaris, non tam libenter nos petimus bona quam ipse largiri est solitus, tametsi vel propter ignorantiam a nobis non intellecta, vel propter ingratitudinem dissimulata. Macte igitur isto animo esto, mi Cranaveldi, qui si te quoad vixeris comitetur, non potes profecto non esse quam beatissimus.
- 60 Quod ita mecum graecissas, ut te admoneam, primum de te possum dicere: *monitis non eget iste meis*⁷; mihi faelicus videris graecissare, quam ratio tuorum negotiorum pati videatur. Si tamen admonendus esses, nec is sum qui possum te admonere, nec decrevi posthac aliquem mortalium admonere, quandoquidem pessima refertur hoc tempore
- 65 gratia monitoribus. Expertus id dico non levi documento quanti mihi steterit semel admonuisse. Scribebam forte ad amicum, atque eundem, si diis placet, discipulum, quem ego fratris germani habebam loco. In calce chartae duo verba addidi nescio quid monens, quod ad eruditionem pertineret, et adieci: "hoc abscinde et combure." Ita enim addideram, ut seiungi a corpore epistolae posset. Ille vero tantus amicus
- 70 repente est illo verbo tam incensus atque inflammatus, ut non extinxis-

⁴ Vives first wrote 'intenditur', then changed the mood.

⁵ First written 'continetur'.

⁶ First written 'sint'.

⁷ Ovid, *Rem. Amoris* 296. "Graecissas" was first written "graecisas".

sem, etiam si totum in lachrymas me vertissem, rescripsitque ad me epistulam non minus longam quam acerbam, in quam quicquid usquam est convitiatorum et maledictorum coniecit; quae mihi non parum movit
 75 stomachum, ut verum fatear, ac movisset multo magis, nisi quam erat maledica, tam fuisset indocta. Ab eo tempore statui apud me nunquam aliquem per litteras admonere de iis rebus, quae ad eruditionem spectant, in quibus cedere alteri turpius plerique putant, quam omnibus flagitiis et sceleribus esse obrutum.

80 Haec ad epistulam scriptam 4° Nonas Novem<bres>. Alteram paulo post datam attulit Robertus Laurini nostri⁸ famulus, quae nihil habet quod responsionem desyderet. Id solum adieci, ut scires me recepisse. Superscribis nescio quid de bonarum litterarum professione. Nihil profiteor, nec volo professor nominari, ac ne magister quidem.
 85 Quocirca rogo te ut posthac titulis illis magisterii et professionis tam gravibus et intolerabilis plane oneris superscriptiones tuas liberes. Nam hanc puto esse causam cur tam tarde ad nos litterae tuae perveniant: onustae videlicet sunt misellae non levibus per Musas oneribus.

Ecce mihi aliae litterae abs te, quas tulit mulier, quam tibi commendaram⁹, quae et tibi, qui operam navaveris optimam, et mihi, qui
 90 commendarim, gratias agit mirum quam magnas. Vix capiat hec charta, si magnitudinem explicaro.// Verum astute tu, qui fecisti satis legi, priusquam reum te peragerem, plane iurisconsultice. Video etiam, et gaudeo ἔγκλημα illud nihil ad me pertinere de suffragationibus istorum
 95 hominum, qui comitiis curiatis nescio quem crearent sacerdotem.

Queris a me, ecquid de triumviratu illo sentiam, quem Cantiuncula¹⁰ fecit? Sunt haec invidiosa, mi Cranaveldi, et periculosa. Quis enim potest libere de viventibus censere sine invidia, seu laudes, seu quid secus. Si enim probes, affici se iniuria putant, qui aliter sentiunt, teque
 100 velut non ὁμοία φρονοῦντα¹¹ oderunt; sin vituperes, et illum ipsum

⁸ Marcus Laurinus (1488-1540) or his elder brother Matthias (see Allen 1889).

⁹ See letter 17 of 11 November.

¹⁰ Claudius Cantiuncula (ca. 1490 — 1549), studied law at Louvain and was professor of civil law from the end of 1518 at the University of Basel. For his further career see *CE* I, pp. 259-261. Between 1518 and 1520 he wrote some letters in which he described Alciati, Budé and Zasius as a triumvirate which had introduced a new era in jurisprudence. See *CE* I, p. 24. On the Milanese Andrea Alciati (1492-1550), professor at Avignon in these years (1518-1522), see *CE* I, pp. 23-26; on Guillaume Budé (Paris 1468-1540), a French courtier and ambassador and the most famous humanist of France, see *CE* I, pp. 212-217; finally, on Udalricus Zasius from Constance (1461-1535), professor at Freiburg and imperial councillor, see *CE* III, pp. 469-473.

¹¹ These Greek words were added in the left margin. In the text itself only one word, probably ὁμοφρονούντα, was originally written and then cancelled.

quem vituperas et alios vel eiusdem opinionis vel eiusdem sectae vel homini addictos inimicos tibi protinus efficis, et quidem capitales. Ita iudicia incorrupta posthuma mihi videntur semper esse. Dicam tamen apud te unum, ea lege, ut vel nemini hanc epistulam ostendas, vel si
 105 ostenderis, id sine captione mea fiat. Alciati vidi quaedam carptim et lectione nimis quam interrupta. Quae tamen legi, hominem mihi prae se ferre videbantur ex isto grammaticorum genere, qui magno venditant sua. Noli ex me de hoc plura audire, ac istud quidem noli accipere pro iudicio aut praeiudicio de hominis eruditione, quae mihi tum visa est
 110 non vulgaris; de moribus loquor, ac sententiam meam profero non confirmatam nec diuturnam, sed quae inter legendum in mentem mihi venit ob locum unum aut alterum in transcurso talem mihi visum. Zasii nihil pene legi, sed quae legi Budaicis mihi videntur omni ex parte inferiora. Budaeus enim est mea quidem opinione *velut inter stellas luna*
 115 *minores*.¹² Sed heus tu, magne amice, si me amas, tam ineptum meum hoc iudicium fac caeles, ne mihi fraudi sit, quod homo de plebe censere audeam ipsius totius litterariae reipub<licae> censores.

Vale et saluta nobis amicos omnes, [*manu Vivis additum*] Fevinum scilicet, Laurinum, Carolum¹³ et tuarum adde ipse quidvis; scio te
 120 additurum variis temporibus varia. Nunc celebs belle in te ludo; quum coniunx fuero, iners tu veteranus huius militiae in me ludes. Habes longam epistolam, ego ex te parem requiro, si patiantur negocia; sin minus, hoc rescisse fuero contentus; neque enim pares a te operae et a nobis exiguntur, quum simus nos pigri, ociosus tu negociosiss<imus>.

125 Vale, Lovanii, ad Cal<endas> Decembres.
 Vives Tuus.

Manu Craneveldi: Rescripsi per decanum¹⁴ sexto Kal<endas> Ianuarias anno <15>20.

A tergo: D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio / Iurisconsulto eruditiss<imo> / amico meo eximio pensio/nario Brugensi

130 *Manu Craneveldi*: xxi decembris

¹² Cp. Hor., *Carm.* I 12.48: *velut inter ignes luna minores*.

¹³ Carolus Hedenbault (ca. 1444 - 28 August 1527), a paternal cousin of Fevynus and the (honorary) Keeper of the Gates of the Princenhof at Bruges, the place where princes, ambassadors and — in Charles's apartments — the humanists used to meet. See *Lit. Cr.* 22.

¹⁴ Marcus Laurinus.

Ep. 21. [Th. More (London) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)]

21 (f.32)

< XII 1520? >

Obviously only a fragment of a letter written in a hurry while the messenger was shouting for it. The handwriting is clearly More's and the date is a guess based on the position of the letter in the bundle. Quite certainly it was written after More's return to England from Bruges in September.

More thanks Cranevelt for some books he had sent him. He had also got a letter from Erasmus, who had written about Cranevelt's praise of More in one of his letters, a fact which confirmed More in his good opinion of Cranevelt.

Erasmus's letter to More seems to have been lost, unless we assume that the original of Allen 1162 (November 1520?) contained some lines on common friends such as Cranevelt which were not kept in the printed version. Our letter 22 shows how much such original versions could differ from the published ones.

ita [[p]] mihi obstrebat hic tabellarius, ut mihi [[n°]] non reliquerit tempus, quo vel gratias adscriberem pro libellis, quos mihi misisti, gratissimis.

Erasmus scripsit ad me, que tu ad illum scripsisti de me¹, quae plane undique te ostendunt eum, quem ego etiam ante perspexeram.

Ep. 22. Erasmus (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

22 (ff.34-36)

18. XII. 1520

This letter is the original version of Allen 1173. The published version was changed from a letter to a friend into an apologia by the addition at the end of quotations from patristic authorities intended to prove that Erasmus was right in his stand against the Carmelite Baechem concerning the Lutheran affair. The published version presents, furthermore, some minor stylistic variants.

Nimirum hoc est, quod vulgo dici solet, unica filiola mihi duos conciliavi generos. Agis mihi gratias, cuius opera tibi contigerit Morus tam candidus amicus¹. At ille mihi vicissim gratias agit, per quem contigerit nosse Craneveldium. Sciebam ilico, que morum et ingenio-

¹ Probably letter Allen 1145 of 19 September 1520.

¹ See above, letter 21.

5 rum est similitudo, nascituram inter vos amicitiam, si modo uterque alteri innotuisset. Talium amicorum ut [[nulla]] est cum primis preciosa, ita rarissima est possessio praesertim hisce temporibus: quo magis est propaganda atque etiam tuenda.

Commigravit isthuc Petrus cognomento Amicus², iuvenis moribus ingenioque longe candidissimo. Complures annos egit cum Aegidio Buslidio³, cuius liberos instituit, cui non aliter charus fuit ac filius, ob fidei vitaeque synceritatem. Is nunc venatur fortunam aliquanto benigniorem, ac mea sententia dignus amplissima. Est utriusque linguae pulchr[e] peritus, ad hec in iuris studio non paucis annis nec infeliciter
 15 versatus. Postremo notarius est haud malae fidei. Nihil addubito, quin ipsius dotes sint hominem abunde commendaturae, sed tamen existimat se bonis omnibus commendabiliorem etiam fore, si vestro gregi asscribatur amicus. Equidem non recuso meum nomen rursu<m> in tuo scribi diario, si quid officii collocaueritis in hominem mihi charissimum,
 20 sed tamen arbitror fore ut quemadmodum antehac, ita nunc quoque genuinam ineam gratiam.

Theologi hic non desinunt esse sui similes: conspirant, mussant, oblatrant, minitantur. Mihi imputant, quod Lutheri negotium non tam atrociter succedit quam vellent. Carmelita Egmondanus⁴ in concionibus sacris, in [praelectio]nibus publicis, subinde me lapidat atque i[n]terim ridetur] // etiam a suis Carmelitis. Cum me citante comparuisset pridem apud rectorem huius Academie⁵, tantum conviciorum mendacissimorum congegessit in os meum, vt paratus fuerit me sacrilegum aut parricidam aut peculatorem aut quidvis aliud facere, si illi venisset in
 30 buccam. Atque ita sibi vir fortis videbatur. Rectori ac mihi, id quod erat, furiosus videbatur. O prodigiosam linguae petulantiam in theologo, in monacho, in sene! Ad primam hominis petulantiam coeperat mihi bilis moveri, sed mox magis libuit hominem ridere, quam refellere. Tandem huc evasit longa rixa: si vellem scriptis testari, Lovanii probos

² Pieter De Vriendt, from Tholen/Zeeland († Louvain 29 XII 1556), had been a tutor of the sons of Aegidius Busleyden. See *CE* III, p. 419.

³ Aegidius Busleyden (ca. 1465 — 14 VII 1536), a high officer in the Burgundian administration and brother of Hieronymus. After the latter's death (1517) he took care of the newly founded *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*. He was a good friend of Erasmus. See *CE* I, p. 235 (correct 'Nederheembel' to 'Nederheembeek').

⁴ Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond (Holland) had been preaching against Erasmus ever since the publication of the New Testament (1518). In 1520 he became Assistant Inquisitor of the Netherlands. See *CE* I, pp. 81-83

⁵ viz. Godschalk Rosemond. See *CE* III, pp. 171-172.

35 et synceros esse theologos, si vellem Lutherum meo stilo confodere, tum
 nos fore fratres; non alia lege fore concordiam. Respondi, ut ipsi se
 potius praestarent quales vellent haberi. De Luthero respondi mihi non
 esse in animo nunc admisceri cause tam odiosae, cui me nunquam
 admiscuerim. Nam quod mihi non placebat illum impeti clamoribus
 40 apud populum, sed potius libris eruditis esse refellendum, hoc consilium
 adversus Lutherum pro theologis facere; sic enim totus poterat aboleri,
 si prius exemptus fuisset ex animis hominum, cum nunc libri tantum
 eximantur e bibliothecis, ipse manet infixus animis. Plurimum habere
 ponderis pontificum bullas, sed apud eruditos viros longe plus valere
 45 libellum bonis argumentis ac scripture divinae testimoniis, non cogen-
 tem sed docentem. Generosa ingenia facile duci ratione, non perinde
 cogi imperio. Deinde non videri equum, ut ego me ultro negotio
 admiscerem, cuius initium a me non sit natum. Magis autem convenire,
 ut ipsi qui fabulam hanc agere cepissent, peragerent, ipsi telam quam
 50 essent orsi, absolverent, ipsi mortarium alliatum quod intrivissent,
 exederent. Alioqui q[uur eg]o potius in Lutherum quam quivis alius?
 Quod s[i] // insanum sit omnes theologos in unum scribere, et a paucis
 id praestari posset, maxime congruere, ut illi in eum scriberent, qui in
 illum disputassent, qui in concionibus illum proscidissent, qui suo
 55 praeiudicio prius illum condemnassent quam summus ipse pontifex.
 Nam si quid stilo valerem, nec solum valere me, nec hanc rem elegantia
 geri, sed eruditione, quam ipsi sibi potissimum vindicarent. Ad hoc
 crudele videri posse me stilo confodere hominem iam prostratum,
 fusum atque etiam exustum. Praeterea ne tutum quide[m] esse,
 60 irritare in caput meum hominem nec edentulum nec mutilum, et qui
 plane, quod libri testantur, foenum habeat in cornu; neque mihi
 consultum esse, tot principum Germanorum, tot eruditorum hominum
 odia in me concitare. Quin etiam temerarium videri, si mihi provinciam
 sumerem, quam nemo cum autoritate delegasset, praesertim cum
 65 videam tot monachorum ordines, tot scholas malle spectare fabulam
 hanc quam agere: fortassis ob id, quod addubitent, cuiusmodi futurus
 sit exitus. Nec enim abest a periculo, ne castastrophe futura sit tumultuosa,
 ni res moderatioribus consiliis componatur. Sed quicumque futurus
 sit exitus, precor ut cedat in gloriam Christi. Fortassis aliqui me
 70 dixerint avidum gloriae, qui bello confecto accurrissem, rerum ab aliis
 gestarum laudem mihi vindicaturus.

Postremo me non esse usque adeo mihi ignotum [[esse]] ut tenuis
 theologus vel magis grammaticus, ut ipsi solent dicere, tam arduam

provinciam mihi sumerem, que et summum theologum et autoritate
 75 praeditum postularet. Neque enim libet suspicari hoc agere quosdam
 animo non syncero, ut posteaquam scriptis in Lutherum libris Germa-
 norum animos in me provocassem, hoc odio protinus in meum exitum
 abuterentur. Horum si nihil esset, tamen refelli non posse quod non
 semel atque iterum a capite ad calcem usque perlegeris; Lutherum
 80 πολύ[γραφον] esse, porro mihi vix ocium esse m[eis ipsius] libris
 recognoscendis. Suos potius [ederent libellos], // quos iam paratos
 haberent Latomus⁶ et Turenhoutus⁷, utrique docti, alter etiam non
 infacundus.

Tandem Egmondanus hoc erat futurus contentus, ut si nollem
 85 pugnare cum Luthero, saltem testarer illum esse victum a Lovaniensi-
 bus. Respondi non deesse qui hoc praedicarent, mihi nondum satis
 liquere eum esse victum, priusquam prodirent illorum argumenta.
 Neque enim spetiosam esse victoriam, praesertim theologis, bullis et
 favillis vincere. Sic ab eo colloquio tantum non consputus discessi.

90 Nunc nescio quomodo rursus irritati videntur in hoc conspirasse, ut
 me concionibus suos conficiant. Cum essem Caletie in regum con-
 gressu⁸, Iacobita quidam iuvenis sibi placens et confidens — Phormio-
 nem esse dices⁹ — hebdomadas aliquot in me debacchatus est, non
 aliter quam e plaustris lapidans me conviciis. Tandem me dissimulante
 95 indictum est homini silentium, sed posteaquam quicquid libuit effutiverat.
 Nuper rursus coepit etiam atrocius, irritatus libello *Antibarbarorum*,
 quem non intelligit; rursus, iterum atque iterum tacere iussus, nondum
 sibi temperat. Tandem nudius tercius al[ter] quidam Iacobita¹⁰, rever-
 sus ut ferunt e Gallia, prodiit in concionem et nihil conviciorum non
 100 congressit nominatim in Erasmus, tam petulanter, ut omnibus etiam

⁶ Jacobus Latomus (ca. 1475- 29 V 1544), a prominent Louvain theologian and opponent of Erasmus and Luther. See *CE* II, pp. 304-306.

⁷ Johannes Driedo of Turnhout († 4 VIII 1535), a more moderate Louvain theologian. The book against Luther which he was preparing in 1520 was never published. See *CE* I, pp. 405-406.

⁸ In the train of Charles V when he met Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas More at Calais, 11-14 July 1520.

⁹ The Frisian Dominican ("Iacobita" means a member of the Dominican Order) Laurentius Laurentii filius, who attacked Erasmus' *Moria* in July 1520 and the *Antibarbari* in that October. See *CE* II, pp. 306-307. The *Antibarbari* had been published for the first time by J. Froben at Basel, May 1520. Phormio, a self-confident parasite, is a main character in the Terence play which bears his name.

¹⁰ Another not identified Dominican.

laicis displiceret. Et o novam theologorum lenitatem! haec ferunt aequis animis, qui vocem unicum 'mateologi', oblique tortam in Carmelitam Egmondanum, magnis tragoediis exagitarunt. Nemo non intelligit haec fieri theologis partim conniventibus, partim etiam instigantibus. O
 105 telum theologis dignum! Coram non expostulant, a tergo mordent, conspirant clanculum, per tales scurras suam agunt fabulam. M < agister > N < oster > ¹¹ Nicolaus Egmondanus, cum publice auspicaretur epistolas Pauli, admiscuit bellam facetiam, Paulum [e] sevissimo persecutore factum esse mansuetissimum Evangelii praeconem. Ita precandum, ut Lutherus et Erasmus ab erroribus suis convertantur, quasi
 110 mihi plus esset negotii cum Luthero, quam sit ipsi Egmondano.

Miraris fortasse iamdudum, quid te hisce neniis onerem. Sic lubitum est cum amico miscere fabulas, et quicquid est nugarum in tuum sinum effundere. Sed admiror quid ordo Iacobitarum potissimum huiusmodi
 115 tragoediis delectetur, quasi tot excitatis tumultibus, primum de conceptione Deipare Virginis¹², deinde Florentie per Hieronymum¹³, mox Berne per alios longe sceleratissimos¹⁴, rursum in Ioannem Capnionem¹⁵ et comitem Novae Aquile¹⁶, virum toti Germaniae charissimum, iterum in Lutherum, non satis invidie sibi conflarint, nisi denuo tam
 120 seditiosis clamoribus magis etiam irritent in se odia bonorum omnium. Nam probis displicet tanta petulantia, etiam iis quibus fortasse non placet Erasmus. Ac me fingunt hostem, a quo numquam sunt lesi, imo malam referunt gratiam. Cum seviet in illos Capnion, unis atque alteris

¹¹ 'Magister Noster' was the academic title of a professor of theology.

¹² The problem of the Immaculate Conception had divided Dominicans (following the Thomistic opinion that there had not been an immaculate conception) and Franciscans, adherents of the Scotistic view (in favour of the I.C.), ever since the late Middle Ages. For a representative of the dispute at the time of Erasmus's sojourn in Paris, see J. Dilenge, *Robert Gaguin, poète et défenseur de l'Immaculée Conception* (Marseille, 1960).

¹³ viz. the Dominican preacher and theologian Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), executed at Florence.

¹⁴ Allusion to the so-called Jetzer affair (1507-1509) or false apparitions of the Blessed Virgin to the novice Johann Jetzer, purportedly denying the Immaculate Conception. In the end the prior and three friars were convicted and executed. See, *inter alia*, H. von Greyerz, "Der Jetzer-Prozess und die Humanisten", *Archiv des historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern* 31 (1932), 243-299.

¹⁵ Johannes Reuchlin, the famous hebraist, attacked by Jacobus Hoogstraten. See *CE* III, pp. 145-150.

¹⁶ Hermann, count of Neuenahr (ca. 1492 — 30 X 1530), a supporter of Reuchlin and friend of Erasmus. See *CE* III, pp. 14-15. Erasmus added his name in the left margin of his letter, so that the expression 'virum...charissimum' seems to have referred first to Reuchlin.

litteris illum admonui ne lederet ordinem¹⁷, sed in eum duntaxat
 125 seviret, a quo fuerat lesus. Rursum cum offensus Hermanus Novae
 Aquilae comes excluderet omnes Iacobitas a colligendis caseis, diligen-
 ter egi cum illo per litteras, ut sineret illos¹⁸; atque hanc gratiam nunc
 referunt mihi. Totum ordinem existimant esse lesum, si quid dicatur in
 monachos improbos, perinde quasi nulli sint improbi, imo si quis
 130 describat formam boni monachi.

Verum de his iam nimis. Bene vale, vir optime.

Louanii, 15 Cal<endas> [[decemb.]] Ian<uarias> An. M.D.20.

Erasmus tuus.

A tergo: Ornatiss<imo> uiro D<omino> / Francisco Cranen/vel-
 135 dio, oppidi Bru/gensis a consiliis.

Ep. 23. [Joannes Borsalus (Veere)] to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

23 ([f.37])

05 I 1521

On December 1, Borsalus received a very friendly message from Cranevelt with the request to send him a letter. Borsalus wrote a letter in July without ever despatching it to Cranevelt (It is our letter 24). Borsalus will send it now, together with the present letter, so that Cranevelt can see that he did not lie about its having been written. He has only broken its seal to see what exactly he had written at the time.

Borsalus takes the opportunity to ask Cranevelt's advice about a financial dispute with a certain Jan Goch(?): Borsalus has to pay this man an annuity on his deanery, but the question is: from what date? According to Jan Goch, who has claimed it in a letter, it is from the so-called first term after the formal agreement between Borsalus and his predecessor. Borsalus thinks he has to pay only when the annuity is established by the authority of the pope or his legate. The origin of the dispute is a conflict on the incorporation of the parish church of Zanddijk into the deanery. The "ordinarius" (the parish priest? the bishop?) challenged that incorporation even after the appointment of Borsalus's prede-

¹⁷ Compare letter 300 Allen (written at Basel in August 1514), ll. 21-24: "Unum illud desyderabam, mi Capnion,...malebam te in locos illos communes parcius digredi aut certe minus immorari, ad haec magis temperasse a manifestis convitiis" (viz., abuse on Hoogstraten).

¹⁸ This letter is missing. The story is also referred to in letters 877 and 1078 Allen.

cessor. The latter, in order to avoid the trouble and costs of a lawsuit, had agreed to pay an annuity and, although it had not yet been brought into effect, Borsalus has ratified it. He now sends the whole dossier to Cranevelt for advice, because he himself lacks reference works and specialists at Veere. If Cranevelt feels himself less competent in canon than civil law, he may consult a specialist and also have Fevynus informed. Borsalus insists on receiving advice by return of the courier. Cranevelt must also fix the fee(s), which will be paid immediately. From letter 29 we know that Borsalus got the requested advice within three weeks.

Greetings to Cranevelt's wife. Borsalus does not know when he will come to Bruges; perhaps in the summer. Greetings from his nephew Jacob, who was in the same college with them at Louvain.

On Joannes Becker of Borsele/Zeeland ("Borsalus") see *CE* I, pp. 115-116 and, above, letter 5, n.5.

S. P. D. Reddite sunt mihi ad Kalendas Decembres tue litere, certissimum pre se ferentes candidissimi istius animi indicium, sed mihi iam olim perspectissimum. Que cum fuerint mihi multis nominibus gratissime, hoc tamen nomine blandiebantur potissimum, quod scriptam ad te mense Iulio a me episto[lam]¹ vel sero mitti cupiebant, nisi tamen ea postulatio ex diffidentia sit profecta, quasi significare ve[llet] officioso quodam mendaciolo me tibi imponere voluisse; id ne fiat, nunc tandem ad te mitto sed resignatam, ut mihi inspicere liceret, quid tum apud amicum effutiverim. Atque ut tuo quoque desiderio satisfaciam, quo postulas prolixiores ad te dari literas, que superioris temporis inofficiosum possint silentium resarcire, mitto non solum verbosiores, sed comitem addidi schedulam quandam; que tibi plus afferat molestie et negotii, quam possis ex epistola sperare voluptatis, nedum capere. Ex ea disces verbosius, negotium quoddam meum cum Ioanne quodam Goch² super pensiuncula quotannis illi e fructibus decanatus³ mei persolvenda, in quo hoc uritur questionis, a quo tempore illi debeatur a me pensio. Nam ille sibi deberi putat, atque etiam petit eam per literas a primo termino (ut vocant) [[in]] post concordiam initam inter eum ac predecessorem meum. Contra ego nihil deberi arbitror ante expeditam summi pontificis aut eius legati autoritate pensionem; id quod latissime explicat chartula quedam his adiuncta, que casum ipsum [[er]] enarrat. Ut autem intelligas litis originem, ecclesia parochialis in Zan-

¹ See letter 24 hereafter, which is dated July 14, 1520.

² The reading of this name is not entirely certain.

³ John Becker received the deanery of Zanddijk near Veere (Walcheren) in 1518 (see *Lit. Cran.* 12, introd., e).

dijck est meo Decanatuī pridem incorporata; eam incorporationem impugnavit pro virili ordinarius. Et cum praedecessor meus institutio-
 25 nem a summo pontifice accepisset, ordinarius quoque incorporationem nolens agnoscere, iure devoluto, sive effluxo presentationis faciende tempore, illum Ioannem Goch instituit. Hinc orta iuridica disceptatio, cuius molestia et sumptu ut liberaretur antecessor consensit in hanc, qua de nunc agitur, pensionem. Eam ego ratam habui, tametsi nondum
 30 deductam ad effectum. Nunc et concordie inite schedulam, et speciem atque ordinem omnem totius negotii ad te mitto, teque oro, ne graveris mihi quid iustum sit, super hac consultatione rescribere vel paucis; neque eo confugas, quod ipse mihi consulere possim; nam nec mihi uni satis confido, praesertim librorum copia destituto, neque hic habeo,
 35 quos consulere tuto possim alios. Quod si tu fortasse prophanis negotiis potius quam hisce sacerdotiorum perplexis questionibus assuetus, quemquam voles adhibere in ea re socium, id tuo arbitrio facito, tametsi sat scio nihil ea re esse opus. Sed et nostrum Fevinum potes facere huius consilii participem, quem sat scio ex animo mihi consultu-
 40 rum. Quicquid erit, hoc saltem cura, ne hic redeat tabellarius, nisi secum afferat tuum super hac questione responsum; et quod dignum erit exolvi vel consultis ipsis vel ei qui scripserit, mittetur ad te, ubi primum hic ad vos redierit.

Ignosce, obsecro, diuturno antehac silentio. Condone hanc meam
 45 importunitatem et recto me consilio adiuta.

Salvam cupio uxorem tuam modestissimam, cui gratulor sicuti et tibi tam innoxiam ac felicem fecunditatem, que possit gentem Craneveldiam reddere numerosissimam. De meo ad vos adventu nihil habeo certi, nisi fortasse animi causa futura estate aliquo excurrere libuerit; id quod
 50 isthuc faciam potissimum, si quidem aliquo [[h]] id honestiori [... ..] dere potero, ei quem mihi profectionis socium sumpsero. Saluta et[iam...] sed perpaucis, ut cui defuerit et argumentum, et tempus pro[..... Iacobus meus⁴] e sorore nepos, noster olim Lovanii [...]] convictor te salu[tat].

⁴ The name appears at the end of letter 29. He is the second relative of Borsalus whom we come to know. Most probably he was an elder brother of Hubertus Barlandus, whom Hadrianus Barlandus mentions as "cognatum ex sorore tuum" (Daxhelet, *ep.* 69, p. 331, l. 24). Since Borsalus says that Iacobus has been "convictor" of himself and Cranevelt at Louvain (mark "noster" as opposed to "meus"!) it follows that the statement, rejected by De Vocht (*Lit. Cran.*, p. xxxiii), according to which Cranevelt went as a student from the Arts College (*Paedagogium*) 'The Falcon' (De Valk) to 'The Lily' (De Lelie), is not unfounded. Borsalus was staying at The Lily.

55 [No]nis Ianuariis 1521.

Tui observant[issimus Ioannes Borsalus]

A tergo: Prestantissimo viro D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio / iuris pontificii Cesareique professori doctissimo,/ [B]rugen<sis> urbis consiliario, preceptor et amico / singulariter observando.

60

Te Brugghe

Ep. 24. Ioannes Borsalus (Veere) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

24 (f.38)

Written 14 VII 1520

Sent 05 I 1521

About four months have gone by and Borsalus has had no opportunity or has been too lazy to respond to two letters of Cranevelt. He will do so now. Cranevelt had sent congratulations on Borsalus's new ecclesiastical preferment, of which Fevynus had told him. From this letter we get the impression that Borsalus was not excessively pleased with the not very rich deanery.

Borsalus is delighted that Cranevelt studies Greek so well. It must have been Erasmus who told Cranevelt about Borsalus's progress in that language and set him up as an example for Cranevelt to follow.

So much for the first letter. In the second Cranevelt thanked Borsalus for having sent to Fevynus Cicero's Letters to Atticus. They will be a great help because they contain much Greek together with the Latin explanation.

In both letters Cranevelt had complained about Geldenhouwer's silence. Since Cranevelt must have written this in March, it confirms that Cranevelt did not receive Geldenhouwer's letter from Utrecht, February 1520, before his return from his visit to Nijmegen in April (See letters 5-6 above). Borsalus believes that Cranevelt and Geldenhouwer will be able to meet very soon. This is indeed confirmed by our letter 11 which preserves a trace of a contact in Bruges in the summer of 1520. Borsalus has hesitated whether to go to Bruges himself or not when he knew about many acquaintances flocking together there. But, finally, he decided not to go when he heard that the king of England, whom he dearly wanted to see, would not come. For a meeting with friends he will do better to wait until there is more leisure time. Greetings to Fevynus and Cranevelt's wife, if she remembers him (obviously: from the days in Louvain). Greetings to Geldenhouwer who is bound to arrive in the company of his bishop.

S. P. D. Accepi, ornatissime Craneveldi, id quod inficiari equidem nec possum nec volo, binas pridem a te literas, singularis tue humanita-

tis et genuine comitatis plenissimas, et amoris in nos tui certissimos testes. Quibus quidem tum vel ob tabellarii festinationem immodicam,
 5 vel ob negociorum turbam respondere non potui¹, responsurus ut tum statueram, quum id poss[[e]]um commode; et nescio quo modo, dum mora e mora [[nect]] nascitur, [[iam]] quantum iam mensem pertinacissimum teneo silentium; ut me nunc propemodum pudeat post tam longum temporis intervallum quicquam rescribere, ea presertim de re,
 10 de qua agebant mecum tue litere. Verum quando non est in promptu novum epistole argumentum, age refricemus vetera.

Gratularis mihi novum hoc sacerdotium, quo audisti e Fevino me non ita pridem auctum, neque etiam (ut tu censes) locupletatum²; ego quod addam elogium equidem nescio, nisi dicam id quod vere possum,
 15 supra mores et ingenium oneratum; habeo tamen tue humanitati gratias, qui amici veteris comoda tibi quoque existimes esse comunia, ut vere fuerint si quidem tibi ulli possent esse usui. Deinde quod tanto conatu, eoque inprimis et felici, Grecas literas sis amplexus, vehementer gaudeo et tibi ex animo gratulor, neque dubito quin quicquid sedulo
 20 conaberis, sis etiam effecturus. Novi enim singulare istud ingenium, novi studium et industriam, novi insignem memoriam. Verum quod me aliquo usque progressum arbitraris in Grecis, quasque meo exemplo iam grandis grecari ceperis, id tibi Erasmum persuasisse satis certo scio, qui vel me talem existimet, qualem certe facere conatus est, vel tibi hac
 25 persuasione ad studium grecanitatis calcar subdiderit.

Hec ad primas tuas literas. In posterioribus magnas agis pro re minima gratias, nempe ob missas ad Fevinum Ciceronis ad Atticum epistolas, quod ee propter interspersa passim Greca, eaque Latine explanata, tibi grecari ingresso sint quam maxime conducibiles future.

30 Erat in alterutris tuis literis de Gerardo Noviomago³ querimonia, quod is in alium veluti orbem delatus tui non meminisset. Credo nunc futuram tibi eius conveniendi copiam⁴, ut vel iniuriam hanc cum eo coram expostulare possis, si videbitur, vel intermisce consuetudinis

¹ Borsalus was slow to react to letters from his correspondents. In a very damaged letter of 1522 (f. 129) he wrote: "Pudet me nonnihil, humanissime Craneveldi, quod hactenus in scribendis ad te epistolis fuerim neglegentior et segnior (ll. 1-2)", and he adduces it as an excuse that his duties as a dean keep him very busy.

² The deanery of Zanddijk to which he was appointed in June 1518. See letter 23 on the ensuing juridical dispute.

³ Gerardus Geldenhouwer. See letters 5, 6 and 11.

⁴ When the Court of Charles I (V) and many princes and ambassadors would come to Bruges at the end of July. See note 5.

damnum resarcire, vel utrumque potius. Dubius eram aliquamdiu,
 35 essemne ipse vos invisurus, verum quoniam viderem plurimos e nostris
 isthuc veluti gregatim accurrere⁵, ipse decrevi nusquam movere pedem;
 id quod feci ob id equiori animo, quod Anglie regem comperissem non
 adfuturum, cuius videndi eram cupidissimus. Quod si amicorum causa
 isthuc venire cupiam, id alio potius tempore faciendum censeo, quando
 40 plus erit vobis ocii; nam nunc scio futuros omnes occupatissimos.

D <ominum> Ioannem Fevinum iureconsultum, amicum comunem
 saluta, queso, meis verbis; et item uxorem tuam honestissimam, si
 tamen illa mei meminisse poterit.

Bene vale. Ex oppido Veriensi, pridie Idus Iulias 1520. Dices salutem
 45 et Gerardo nostro, quem credo cum patrono⁶ hac iter facturum.

Tuus Ioannes Borsalus.

A tergo: Eximio utriusque iuris professori, magistro / [Fran]cisco
 Craneveldio, apud Brugenses / [consi]liario, preceptorum unice obser-
 vando.

Ep. 25. Joannes Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

25 (f.39)

[ca. 10 I 1521?]

This letter is difficult to understand since it is a sequel to a conversation between Fevynus and Cranevelt of which we know nothing at all. It seems to refer to some private affair. Fevynus will talk the next day to somebody about some unspecified matter, probably the 'statutum' mentioned at the end of the letter. He understood that Cranevelt wanted to speak about it with his wife. Fevynus agrees, since it will make the excuse more acceptable, and he can give an answer of which the wife is aware. At the end of the letter Fevynus asks for the statute concerned or a copy of it.

The date of the letter is based on its position in the bundle, viz. after

⁵ After the meeting of Charles V and Henry VIII at Calais, 11-14 July, the Court moved North to Wijnendale and Maldegem (21-25 July) and entered Bruges on July 25. An English mission, a member of which was Thomas More, also came to Bruges and stayed there throughout September.

⁶ Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht and patron of Gerardus Geldenhouwer. Philip was a relative of Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Veere and Borsalus's patron.

Borsalus's letter written at Veere on 5 January, which could have reached Bruges in two days, and before another letter of Fevynus dated 19 January. Between the two letters of Fevynus one finds one written by Vives on 12 December at Louvain and which probably arrived at Bruges after that of Borsalus.

S. Quamquam animi sententiam tui satis intellexi, humaniss<ime> Craneveldi, tamen quia offerebas ea de re alloqui uxorem, visum est mihi quoque hoc expediens, cum ob iustiores excusationis causas (ut sit in quod conferre liceat), tum etiam ut ea demum conscia responsum
 5 dem. Quod si tu aliter faciundum censes, haud admodum etiam illud referet. Cras demum alloquar eum.

Vale et, ni occupatior sis, ut¹ statutum hoc habeam, aut illius exemplum.

Fevynus tui semper observantiss<imus> .

A tergo: Ornatiss<imo> viro Domino / et M<agistro> Francisco
 10 Craneveldio / a consiliis oppidi Brugensis, / amico singulari.

Ep. 26 J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

26 (f.40)

20 XII <1520>

Vives thinks that Cranevelt has received his long letter of December 1. He himself received from the public courier a short message from Cranevelt. Congratulations on his Greek! Then follow jokes on their mutual duties as friends and correspondents, based on a quotation from Lucian. Soon Vives returns to a subject dear to his heart: the situation of dialectics. He is still working on his book.

About Reuchlin he had heard more or less the same as Cranevelt, but he did not pay attention to it. This may be an allusion to the condemnation of the German hebraist, in conflict with the theologian Jacob van Hoogstraten, by a Roman tribunal on 23 June 1520. Vives says he does not care about what Luther and Reuchlin do, whether they win or are overcome. It is not his affair. Only troubles come from it and that he abhors. As regards his religious

¹ Fevynus, writing in a hurry, omitted the main verb ("cura" or something similar) on which the clause depends.

convictions, which side wins has absolutely no importance. Vives follows the Apostles as his masters. It does not concern him either whether Jewish books must be burned (according to the request of Johannes Pfefferkorn!); he has no such books and does not read them. He does not trouble himself about the human or divine character of the pope's authority: he is no pope nor wants to be. He is not interested in the issue of confession either. He has not committed crimes on account of which he would want confession abolished. If Christians confess, he will do so; if they do not, neither will he. Therefore, he asks Cranevelt not to write him any more about Reuchlin, Luther, theology or theologians, but only about literature, Greek, Latin, dialectics, rhetoric, eloquence, philosophy and, if he likes, a little jurisprudence. Those are the subjects he likes because they give joy without danger. If he is good at them he earns praise without envy; if he is bad, nobody cares: they will say he has been mistaken in a word or has been absent-minded or is differing from somebody other's view.

Vives has noticed that Cranevelt is translating Lucian's *Vitarum Auctio*. He informs Cranevelt that Nicolaus Beraldus (Vives's former director of studies in Paris) has done the same, presumably as an exercise. Vives does not agree everywhere with that translation.

Bérault's translation has been printed at Louvain by Dirk Martens, together with other translations from Lucian by Erasmus and Thomas More: *Luciani icaromenippus... Erasmo interprete; eiusdem Menippus versa a Thoma Moro. Eiusdem Vitarum Auctio, interprete Nicolao Beraldo*. See NK, vol. I (1923), p. 502, n° 1405; vol. III 3 (1943), p. 106; HCT, vol. III (Louvain, 1954), p. 262. Nijhoff-Kronenberg date this edition to 1519. This now seems improbable. How could Cranevelt have been ignorant of the book which also contained translations by his friends Erasmus and More? 1521 seems a more likely date, with which nothing in the Martens volume is inconsistent (information provided by Marcus de Schepper who inspected the copy in the Royal Library in Brussels). It seems likely, however, that Vives brought the manuscript from Paris to Martens.

Vives sends his greetings to Cranevelt's family, to Laurinus and Fevynus, to whom he would have written but for lack of time. He hopes to be able to spend the next Lent in Bruges, that is, he adds teasingly, to take Fevynus away from Cranevelt, who is too busy with lawsuits *etc.etc.* But Cranevelt is permitted to join the company, if he can, in which everything will be carried on in Greek.

This letter has been edited (text, facsimile, Dutch translation by J. IJsewijn, French translation by Monique Mund-Dopchie) in the two parallel brochures *De Cranevelt Correspondentie / La correspondance Cranevelt*, published by the Belgian "Koning Boudewijn — Roi Baudouin" Foundation at Brussels, 1990, to commemorate the acquisition of the new Cranevelt bundle by that Foundation at Christie's, 1989. We offer here a revised text in which a couple of minor corrections have been introduced.

Vives Cranaveldio suo S.

Habes, ut credo, epistulam loquacem, quam scripsi tibi sub Calendas mensis huius¹. Postridie Calendarum tu litteras dedisti ad me breves, ut soles, quas accepi a tabellario publico. Plane divino es vir ingenio, qui
 5 inter tot occupationes tantum Graecitatis possis percipere et retinere! Ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ εἰς ἄρειον πάγον²; cuius criminis? num ἀνδραποδισμοῦ, ut inquit Lucianus tuus? An forte intermissi officii? An ingratitude?
 10 Atqui nec ingratus in me esse potes, cui nullam debes gratiam, nec minus officiose agis, qui tum maxime diligens in officio es, quum ego te maxime in eo cessare suspicor. Et certe sive tu stylo tuo das litteras, quas ad me scribis, sive amicitiae nostrae, utroque modo sunt mihi quam gratissimae, et quod amorem in me tuum perspectum alioqui mihi et exploratum confirmari indies augerique video, et [[quos]] quod dignos censes nos, quos suavitate dictionis tuae oblectes. Quod
 15 admones me³ δεδόχθαι παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς φιλοσόφους μέλλοντας συντρίβειν ἂν τῇ διαλεκτικῇ καὶ τοῦτο διηγουμένου Ἰκαρομενίππου ἐκείνου σὲ μαθήσασθαι⁴, vide ne non de hac mea intelligatur sive decretum sive senatusconsultum sive Iovis edictum, sed de illa sophistica, obstrepera, garrula, mortalibus iuxta ac Immortalibus nimis quam
 20 molesta et intolerabili, idque balbutie sua et incondita streperitate⁵. Nam ego meam quamvis non mutam instruo et adorno tamen cultius expeditusque, adde etiam, nisi fallunt me mea, acutius quoque et ad communem sensum accomodatius loquentem facio, denique talem ut audita non reprobetur nec malit quisquam eam tacuisse. E <h> o tu,
 25 quid tibi hoc loco videor? An non bellus mihi ipse praeco? Et magnificus mearum rerum venditator? Gentile hoc est mihi, quo minus id mihi vicio vertas.

De Reuclino fando nescio quid audiavi propemodum tale, quale ipse scribis, sed non admodum adverti animum; neque enim magnopere
 30 curo vel quid Lutherus et Reuclinus agant, vel quomodo agantur, vincant an vincantur, triumphant an triumphentur; mea non refert.

¹ See letter 20.

² Cf. Lucian, *Vitarum Auctio* 7: Εἴτ' οὐ δέδιας μὴ σοι δικάσῃται ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἢ καὶ προκαλέσῃται σε εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον.

³ 'Quod admones me' has been added to the text in the left margin.

⁴ Allusion to the *Icaromenippus* of Lucian in which the philosopher Menippus travels to heaven in order to interview Zeus.

⁵ Refers again to Vives's conflict with the scholastic dialecticians. See his pamphlet *Adversus Pseudodialecticos*.

Nihil mihi neque seritur neque metitur. Res sunt seditiosae, a quibus mirum ut animus meus abhorreat. Utracunque pars vincat, nullam inde timeo iacturam meae religioni, nullam accessionem spero. Scio quo me
 35 sum versurus, quid crediturus; apostoli me docebunt et optimos habebō magistros discipulos aeterni Magistri. Quid ad Vivem an libri Iudaeorum sint comburendi? qui libros Iudaeorum nec habeo nec lego nec curo⁶; quid etiam ad me Pontificis principatus, sit de iure humano an divino? qui nec pontifex sum nec esse volo, nec mihi cupio rem cum illo
 40 esse unquam ullam. Sit facienda confessio necne parum laboro; neque enim ea scelera concepi, propter quae velim tolli receptam confessionem. Si confiteantur Christiani, // confitebor et ego; si non confiteantur, nec ego; denique nec in peiore possum esse conditione quam reliqui, et esse in meliore velle arrogantis et insolentis est. Quocirca tu ad me
 45 posthac nihil de Reuclino et Luthero scripseris ac ne de theologia quidem ipsa vel theologis, sed si omnino aliquid vis de litteris, de Graecitate, ut facis, de Latinitate, de dialectica, de rhetorica, de oratoribus, de philosophia, de philosophis; admisce interdum aliquid, si lubet, de iurisconsultis tuis⁷. Istis omnibus me dedō, istos colo, quoniam me
 50 oblectant sine suspitione ulla periculi. Si quid in his bene vel sentio vel dico, laudant omnes, nullus invidet, nullus cruento incessit dente. Sin male, error eo usque progreditur ut vel vocula aliqua falsus dicar, parum scilicet attentus, vel discessisse ab opinione huius vel illius credar, paradoxumque dixisse, sed quod neminem ut nec ledit, ita nec
 55 valde offendat. Latior est haec res quam ut eam possum hoc tempore multis persequi verbis.

Video te vertere τὴν τοῦ Λουκιάνου τῶν βίων πράσιν, quod tibi bene vertat καὶ εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὑπακούει, τὸν θυμὸν ὁμῶς δὴ ἐπαινετέον, ἀλλὰ ἴσθι, ἐν οἷδ' ὅτι ὁ Βέραλδος ἤδη ἔτρεψε, tametsi οὐκ
 60 ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐν πᾶσι συνδοκεῖ. Credo fuisse illud tyrocinium⁸.

Puellae tuae pullisque S<alutem> ; Laurino etiam nostro Fevinoque meo. Hoc addo, ut male te uram zelotypia, quum videas amicum tam tuum etiam ab alieno meum dici; ad quem scripsissem, sed nec vacat, nec habeo in praesentia quid potissimum scribam. Si ipse tamen, quem

⁶ A startling statement, if one remembers that Vives himself was a (converted) Jew, and that his family had been and still would be a victim of the Spanish Inquisition.

⁷ One will have noticed his interest in jurisprudence in the earlier letters as well as in his *Aedes Legum*.

⁸ Nicolas Bérault (Beraldus) had been Vives's professor at Paris and for some time Vives had been a kind of assistant to him.

- 65 ego ocios<i> orem esse autumo, prior lacessierit, non dubito quin excitaturus sit garrulitatem meam. Vale. Lovanii, XX decembris.

Manu ipsius Vivis:

- Hanc quadragesimam habeo in animo apud vos agere, id est Fev-
num constitui omnino a te evellere ut cum eo me oblectem, quandoqui-
70 dem tecum non licebit occupato tot litibus, caussis, controversiis,
advocationibus, assessionibus, consiliis et reliquis, quae pertinent ad
maiestatem legum iurisque; sed et tecum, quum licebit tibi idque
παντοδαπῶς ἐλληνιστῇ. Vale.

A tergo alterius folii: Iurisconsulto Eruditiss<imo> / D<omino>
Francisco Craneveldio / amico integerrimo Pensio/nario Brugensi.

Ep. 27 J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

27 (f.41)

19 I 1521

Marcus Laurinus has returned the day before (obviously from Louvain) and brought startling news about Luther. Erasmus was in even greater trouble with the Louvain theologians. Fevynus did not dare to ask him for Hutten's "Commentarii" and wants Cranevelt to do it for him.

It is hard to say which of Hutten's writings are meant by the word "Commentarii". It could be the anti-Roman dialogue *Trias Romana*, published in April 1520.

On Laurinus (1488-1540), dean of St. Donatian's in Bruges since 24 September 1519, see *CE* II, pp. 307-308. He always remained in close contact with the University of Louvain where he had studied from 1502 to 1507. In 1518 he visited Erasmus there during his illness at the home of Dirk Martens.

- S. Rediit hesterno die Laurinus; cui si non sis loquutus, haud
incommodum id feceris: de Luthero plus quam stupenda narrat. Erasmo
minus quam olim convenire cum theologis Lova<niensibus>. Causam
ille affatim. Commentarios Huttenicos prope erat ut efflagitarem, at
5 malui hoc tibi delegare munus. Quare si per occupationes licebit, adibis
hominem, et amicus ut sciat. Ego eum a sermone quem rettuli non vidi.
Vale, 14 Cal<endas> Febr<uarias> 1521.

Fevynus tuus.

- A tergo:* Prudentiss<imo> Iureconsulto / D<omino> et M<a-
10 gistro> Francisco Craneveldio, / a Consiliis oppidi Brugen<sis>.

Ep. 28 Conradus Vecerius (Worms) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

29 (ff.43-46)

12 I 1521

Vecerius has received Cranevelt's letter written in mid-October and he enjoys getting such letters. He does not know whether he prefers few and long letters at regular intervals (say 2 months), or quite many but shorter ones. Although Cranevelt did not write about himself, Vecerius knows that he has a splendid situation, taking into account the possibilities of Bruges, and more freedom than Vecerius himself. Cranevelt's complaint about the barbarous texts he has to work with is exaggerated: he always used to read the better (humanist) authors, and his style proves it. With his method he will go further than those who read only ancient Greek and Latin authors.

On Geldenhouwer: Vecerius is glad his health is better again, but he wonders why he does not write to Cranevelt. At their last meeting in Brussels Vecerius got the impression that his work with the rich bishop made him forget his literary studies. He was no longer the promising "young Erasmus" they had known at Louvain. Cranevelt should try to bring him back to books.

Vecerius then picks up again in detail the discussion on Hutten (cp. letter 14) and his revolutionary ideas, a subject on which he disagrees with Cranevelt. Everybody now is talking of them, even in the shops and inns: Vecerius and Cranevelt will do the same in their correspondence. Vecerius cannot believe, as Cranevelt and Erasmus do, that Hutten will calm down with mature age and that he will acknowledge his faults. One can do that in the case of scientific and artistic errors (as did Hippocrates and Cicero), but not when religion, public manners and the authority of kings and pope are concerned. One cannot leave the ship once it is in the midst of the ocean. And Hutten did not limit himself to Latin tracts, which can be read only by learned persons, for his German pamphlets are available everywhere and can be read and discussed even by old wives. Think what will be the consequences! Not even with the best preaching will the clergy be able to eradicate the base ideas spread by Hutten and his followers, ideas such as: in no case can Roman indulgences ever be admitted; war must not be declared on the Turks; minor sins need not be confessed, etc. Vecerius admits that in politics many errors are committed, but private individuals must not try to stir up revolutions and must know their right and lawful place as described by Cicero. The situation of Hutten and Luther is compromised as Cranevelt knows, and Aleander is doing the utmost to overthrow them.

Vecerius will heed Cranevelt's advice for his life at Court. The story of Mount Venus in Sicily, about which Cranevelt had asked information, is groundless. Vecerius never found any trace of what it records. Only near Baiae in Campania is there a cave in which jugglers and actors used to gather. Some Italians say that they came from as far as Germany to be initiated and that some were killed during their conference with the devils. About Vecerius's journey to Sicily, see above letter 10.

Cranevelt must continue as he has begun in sending letters to (Gilles)

Busleiden. He is the right person, but Vecerius will also think of Robert (de Croy?).

Court news: the diet (at Worms) is approaching, but Vecerius does not know how long the emperor will stay. The wish is that he return to Spain soon. Cardinal de Croy died yesterday night from pestilential fever, to the great sorrow of all good people.

The information about Croy's death is interesting. Vecerius's letter is clearly dated 12 January, which means that the Cardinal died on 10/11 January. Traditionally, however, 6 January is given as the day he died. The source is A. Ciacconius, *Vitae Pontificum* (Rome, 1630 sqq.), vol. III, p. 346, who mentions two dates, viz. 31 December 1523 and, more likely he says, 'post pridie [sic! read 'postridie'] Nonas Januarii' or 6 January. Ciacconius confirms this date with the text of Croy's epitaph on his tomb in the Celestines' convent at Heverlee, just outside the walls of Louvain. That text, he says, gives the date 'postridie Non. Ian. / MDXXI.' However, this epitaph is clearly a fake. The monument still exists, no longer at Heverlee, but in the chapel of the Capuchins' convent at Edingen, where it has been transferred. See L. Hoffmans, *Le Mausolée du Cardinal Guillaume de Croy* (Enghien = Edingen, 1960). The very impressive tomb has never been entirely completed; *inter alia*, the big marble slab destined to receive the epitaph has never been inscribed. Its surface is completely smooth and untouched by a sculptor, as J. IJsewijn could see himself when he visited the chapel in 1990. The cause of Croy's death is given by Ciacconius as a hunting accident and not a contagious fever: "venatum profectus, equo generoso delapsus venam dirupit et paulo post vita decessit". There is, however, evidence which almost entirely bears out Vecerius's information. Nicolaus de le Ville from Arras, prior of the Heverlee convent in the mid-seventeenth century, writes in his chronicle *Heverlea Celestina* (Louvain 1661; copy in the Louvain U.L.), pp. 44-45: "Wormatiae...importunae febris acerbitate...anno salutis humanae 1521 V. Idus Januarii suum diem obiit. Defuncti Manibus funebres honores tales acti sunt, quales possunt esse maximi...Cuncta sicut fuere peracta a Nicasio Ladamo Bethuniensi teste oculato Gallico sermone conscripta sunt, quorum exemplar manuscriptum...in manus meas venerit" (The text, which was already available in manuscript in 1659, was copied out by A. Sanderus, in his *Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*, t.II (Brussels 1659), p. 146A [= The Hague 1727, pp. 146-147]. The slight difference between this courtier's notice and that of Vecerius is the date. According to De le Ville Ladam states that the Cardinal died on 9 January. Most probably the Heverlee chronicler made a mistake of one day when transferring the French of his source in a classical Roman date. Since there is no reason why Vecerius should have communicated false information to Cranevelt the conclusion seems fairly sure: Croy died in the final hours of 10 January 1521 from contagious fever, not from a burst vein suffered during a hunting accident on 6 January. Maybe this last story has been spread "officially" afterwards to provide the noble Cardinal with a more knightly end than some illness which could well have been syphilis. G. Martin in his *Histoire et généalogie de la Maison de Croy* (La Ricamarie 1980), p. 28 has tried to reconcile the two versions: "Le 6 janvier 1521 il alla à la chasse, il tomba de cheval et se rompit une veine et une côte et mourut peu de jours après, le 10 janvier." This is, of course, not impossible, but the fact

remains that neither of the two courtiers and eye-witnesses mention the accident.

S. Delectaverunt me etiam atque etiam tuae ad nos, Eruditiss<ime> Craneveldi, litterae medio iam mense Octobri conscriptae, non tam quod plenae sunt eruditionis, eloquentiae ac benevolentiae, quam quod paulo longiusculae. Equidem sicuti probe facere eos existimo, qui ad
 5 singulas amicorum statim rescribunt epistulas, ita et eorum non possum non laudare officium, a quibus uti serius, sic et copiosius aliquando respondetur. Atque adeo prioribus illis id quoque evenire consuevit ut, dum ad minutos etiam codicillos rescriptare nituntur, putidas nonnumquam res tractare necesse habeant; ii vero qui tertio demum (verbi
 10 gratia) mense rescribunt, uberiores semper et quasi legitimas exarare solent epistolas. Neque haec tamen sic velim accipi quasi institutum istud tantopere statim amplectar ac non crebriores litteras grandioribus quibusque antepositurus sim. Quanquam plane tuo relinquo arbitrio hacne an illa scribendi ratione uti malueris. Nihil certe daturus ad me
 15 es, quod non inter gratissimas rerum mearum deputaturus statim sim.

Perfusus te (sic scribis enim) incredibili quodam litterarum mearum gaudio magnae mihi voluptati est, neque non me item epistulam tuam legentem letitia admodum delibutum credideris. In quam etsi alioqui nihil de rerum tuarum statu adieceris, licet mihi tamen coniecturam
 20 facere te et commode et splendide etiam agere, quum et honoratissimo — ut in ista civitate — muneri et longe (prae nostra conditione) liberrimo novi praepositum; idque tibi tantopere, mi Craneveldi, gratulor ut favere magis certe nequeam. Quod de horis bonis¹ tam non bene apud barbaros scriptores² tibi collocatis leviter // aspersisti, fieri non
 25 potest ut fidem mihi faciat, qui et norim ex parte quam tu iam olim per omne probatorum commentariorum genus, nedum per eos, quibus sermonis integritatem debemus, divagari summa cum laude consueveris; et non ita haberi velim oscitans ut istum tibi vel stilum vel iudicium in media barbarie partum assentiar. Tu modo perge et barbarica ista
 30 opera tuo more pertracta, multo sane magis promoturus quam eorum plaerique, qui in media vel Graecia vel Latio aetatem attriverunt.

Noviomagum nostrum³ convaluisse gaudeo. Attamen miror nihil ab

¹ The expression "bonis horis", the meaning of which is not entirely clear, is found repeatedly in Vives's works. See J.L. Vives, *Early Writings* 2. Edited by J. IJsewijn and Angela Fritsen With Ch. Fantazzi (Leiden 1991), p. 8, l. 17 and note 2. Here it seems to be something like "my precious time".

² Cranevelt means, of course, the medieval jurists such as the Glossatores.

³ Geldenhouwer. In letter 14 Vecerius wrote that he had heard about his illness in Artois.

eo litterarum tibi interea redditum⁴. Quaeso, lacesse hominem! Nam mihi Bruxellae conventus inertior aliquanto videbatur quam esse consueverat olim Lovanii tum, quum (ita rebus nostris Christus, mi Craneveldi, faveat) inter eos a nobis censeretur, qui vel in Erasmi nostri bibliotheca successuri⁵ videbantur. Sed, ut auguror, commercio opulentissimi antistitis⁶ transversus agetur, nisi si tuis caeterorumque bonorum atque eruditorum amicorum litteris ad excolenda studia retractus fuerit. Excolenda quum dico, non sic accipio quasi, relicto Philippo, redire recta in gymnasium⁷ velim hominem, sed ita ut e mediis etiam occupationibus libros quasi per transennam aspectet. Nam si Cn. Carbo studuisse in tabernaculo iuxta Fabium⁸, Divus Augustus bello Mutinensi in tanta mole rerum (ut Tranquillus ait) et legisse et descripsisse et declamasse quotidie traditur⁹, quid nos facere convenit, umbratiles et imbelles homines, in mediis tamen qualibuscumque membranis aetatem agentes? Lustrentur itaque // studia litterarum cum negotiis, si non palmam adeptura, at certe nec datura sane, omnium iudicum candidiorum modo sententia; siquidem in recte factis voluisse quoque laudi non infimae ducitur¹⁰. Porro amoenitatem tuam exosculor, qui epistulas nostras qualicumque arguto contextas aequi bonique consulturum te scripseris.

Pari candore eam item partem litterarum nostrarum explicas, quae Hutteni mentionem habuerat, dum susceptum iamdudum homini scribendi genus dissimulanter ac tecte ut non probare, certe sic nec damnare magnopere incipis, multo simplicissimo munimento eum

⁴ This is confirmed by the fact that the new Cranevelt letters do not contain any new letter of Geldenhouwer after that of 16 April (letter 5) except a very short note (letter 11) sent in July or August when Geldenhouwer was in or near Bruges.

⁵ The expression is rather strange but indicates the great expectations Geldenhouwer aroused as a student.

⁶ Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht.

⁷ *Gymnasium* is the humanist equivalent of the medieval *Paedagogium*, an Arts College. See e.g. the dedication letter (1514) of Martin Dorp's *Dialogus* to "Ioannes Nevius...insignis Lilianorum pedagogii gymnasiarcha ...(1)...in tuo feracissimo doctorum virorum gymnasio philosophiam docui." See J. IJsewijn & J. Roegiers (edd.), *Charisterium H. De Vocht 1878-1978* (Leuven 1979), p. 80.

⁸ Quint. X 7.27: Neque enim fere tam est ullus dies occupatus ut nihil lucrativae... operae ad scribendum aut legendum aut dicendum rapi aliquo momento temporis possit, siquidem C. Carbo etiam in tabernaculo solebat hac uti exercitatione dicendi.

⁹ Suet., *Aug.* 84.1: Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bellos in tanta mole rerum et legisse et scripsisse et declamasse cotidie traditur.

¹⁰ Cf. Propertius II 10.6: ...In magnis et voluisse sat est.

- locum quasi praeseptis, dum antesignani nec titulo cohonestandum existimas; quasi vero mihi in eiusmodi certaminis genere volonum unquam aut lixarum etiam sors evenerit, nedum ferendorum signorum
- 60 auctoritas homini inter infacundissimas gentes iam toto quinquennio diversanti¹¹; aut quasi non tibi eam doctrinae supellectilem, eam facultatem censuramque obvenisse conspiciam ut vel cum disertissimis et egregie congregi et abire summa cum laude valeas. Quanquam
- 65 ob unius hominis concitatoris offutias¹² assumendam arbitremur; potius, quod vulgo iam nullis non circulis [[atque]] tabernisque fit ut de criminatione Hutteniana sermones agitentur, id nos tanto locorum intervallo seiuncti conficiamus epistolis. Ac quod ais minime probari tibi, si quae commotiori illi temere forte exciderint, ita sane mihi ante
- 70 quoque persuaseram, qui et iudicium tuum et gravitatem eximiam pro exploratissimis semper habuerim. Nam quod Erasmus scribis existimasse, futurum ut lasciviam // ingenii accessio aetatis satis per se corrigeret, credo ita potuisse putare senem sapientiss<imum>, eundem et placidissimum; caeterum in eo scriptorum genere, quorum
- 75 controversia vel in doctrina vel certe in stili ratione versetur: sic enim et Hippocrates clarus in arte medicina fecisse videtur honestissime, quod quosdam errores suos, ne posterii errarent, confessus est; et M.Tullius non dubitavit aliquos suos libros iam editos aliis postea scriptis ipse damnare, ut idem Fabius tradidit¹³. At hoc genus erratorum, quod
- 80 religionis arcana, quod publicorum morum persuasionem receptam, quod maiestatem regum, quod Pontificum placita nominibus etiam praesidentium foedissime sugillatis attentet, quaeso, ostende quam vel maxime sera accessione aetatis corrigere liceat? Perinde quasi canere receptui quisque¹⁴ possit, quum
- 85 pelagus tenuere rates, nec iam amplius ulla
Occurrit tellus, caelum undique et undique pontus.¹⁵

¹¹ An allusion to his travels to Sicily, Southern Italy, Spain, France and Germany on diplomatic missions. See letter 10 above.

¹² 'Offutiae' is a Plautine word (*Captivi* 656, etc.) which is also found in Gellius: "id offutiarum genus" = delusions (*Noctes Att.* XIV 1.2).

¹³ Quint., III 6.64: "Nam et Hippocrates clarus arte medicinae videtur honestissime fecisse quod quosdam errores suos, ne posterii errarent, confessus est; et M.Tullius non dubitavit aliquos iam editos libros aliis postea scriptis ipse damnare."

¹⁴ 'quisquam' would be better in this case.

¹⁵ Verg., *Aen.* V 8-9.

Et parum erat Latinis modo libellis [[I.st..]] infaustas accusationes evulgasse! Tum enim parum recte conscripta emptores legere cum iudicio poterant. Caeterum Theutonicas quoque schaedas et prostare
 90 per tabernas et coemi ab aniculis, legi, edisci, narrari quem non aliqua modo pietate praeditum impense contorqueat? Prorsus ut boni omnes aestimare cogamur iam ipsi auctori suum displicere facinus ideoque huc illum voluisse descendere ut idiotarum quoque simplicitatem adiungendam amentiae suae putaverit. Quod esse posset pulchri alicuius tumultus initium!
 95 An tu fieri posse putas ut infandas opiniunculas de nullis omnino Romanis admittendis veniis, de non indicendo bello Turcis¹⁶, de non confitendis admissis levioribus milleque eiusmodi alias vel ab Hutteno vel ab sequacibus eius effusas sexcentisque e Germanica plaebe hominibus inculcatas¹⁷ quantumvis accurata faustaue sacerdotum
 100 adhortatio revellere unquam de pulmone valeat? Mihi certe futurum videtur ut

Ante leves pascantur in aethere cervi

Et // freta destituant nudos in littore pisces¹⁸.

Potius illud auguror fieri posse ut ea multitudo ad ingenium quandoque
 105 redeat bellisque doctoribus illis vicem aliquam referat; cui et parum fidendum esse Callimachus¹⁹ et ventosam nulla non pagina tradidit. Quanquam et illud, mi Craneveldi, compertum habeo peccari multifariam nonnunquam in gerenda republica. Atqui privatum sapientem nullum existimo, qui iactare calces in stimulos temere cogitet, nedum ex
 110 caelo deturbare Gigantes. Quid eo enim praecepto gravius, quod ab optimo administrandae reip<ublicae> (ut Aur<elius> Augustinus ait²⁰) artifice proditum est: "Privatum autem, inquit, oportet aequo et pari cum civibus iure vivere neque submissum neque abiectum nec sese efferentem; tum in rep<ublica> ea velle quae tranquilla et honesta

¹⁶ At this point it is interesting to notice that Erasmus was long opposed to such a war, although he later changed his mind. In 1518 he wrote (Allen 775, ll. 5-6): "Pontifex ac princeps novas agunt comoedias, qui nunc bellum in Turcas praetexunt, cum multo aliud agatur." See further his *Utilissima Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo*, ed. A. G. Weiler, *ASD* V 3 (Amsterdam 1986), pp. 1-82.

¹⁷ Vecerius erroneously wrote 'inculcatas'.

¹⁸ Verg., *Ecl.* I 59-60.

¹⁹ We could not yet track down the source which seems not to be in the poems of Callimachus known in Vives's time. Or did he mean the Italian humanist Philippus Callimachus? For the qualification "ventosa" see Horace, *Epist.* I 19.37: "Non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor."

²⁰ August., *Civ. Dei* III 30: "Cicero ille disertus artifex rei publicae regendae." (ed. E. Hoffmann, Vienna 1899-1900, vol. I, p. 158, ll. 7-8)

115 sint. Talem enim et sentire et bonum civem dicere solemus.”²¹ Et ipsius Hutteni Lutherique etiam salus scis, credo, quo in statu est. Apostolicus certe nuntius²² mira sollicitudine utitur in evertendo utroque.

Haec ad Huttenianum epistolae tuae locum. Quae tu velim eam in partem accipias in quam ut tuam sententiam vellem accipere ipse
120 rogaveras. Nam me tam sollicitat rixosorum istorum digladiatio quam eorum, qui de caprina lana litibus implicantur²³.

De aulicae vitae genere dabo operam ut Circeiorum, Syrenarum atque Ulysseae caerae commemorationem haud frustra feceris, Christus modo Op<timus> Max<imus> incolumitati provideat²⁴.

125 Quod de fabula Venerei montis²⁵ interrogas, nihil vanius. Nam in Sicilia prorsus nullum eius rei offendi vestigium; in Campania sane circum Baias intelligo specum esse, in quem conferre sese praestigiatores quique magicis artibus delectantur consueverunt, adeo ut sint ex Italis, qui venisse eo initiatum ex ultima Germania quosdam asserant,
130 occisos etiam inter latebras alios, dum secreto Cacodaemonum [[frequenter]] fruerentur alloquio.

De // litteris ad Buslidianum²⁶ nostrum mittendis ita ut coepisti facito. Rectius pervenire non poterunt, quamquam de Roberto quoque videro²⁷.

135 Dabis pro tua verecundia loquacitati nostrae quoque epistolae veniam. Coram enim commentari tecum videor, eoque tam expatiatur calamus.

De novis Aulæ rebus: Conventus²⁸ iam dies appropriat. Quamdiu

²¹ An almost literal quotation of Cicero, *De Off.* I 124.

²² Girolamo Aleandro, sent from Rome to Germany in the summer of 1520 as the papal envoy in charge of the implementation of Leo X's bull *Exsurge Domine* containing Luther's excommunication. Vecerius's notice confirms what we know about his uncompromising attitude against Luther. See *CE* I, pp. 28-32.

²³ Cf. Hor., *Epist.* I 18.15: "Alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina."

²⁴ Cranevelt obviously has warned Vecerius against the pitfalls of courtly life with symbols borrowed from Homer's *Odyssey*.

²⁵ The *Mons Veneris* is certainly Mount Eryx in Sicily, famous for the cult of Venus. See, *inter alia*, Hyginus, *Fabulae*, cclx: "Eryx Veneris...filius fuit, qui occisus ab Hercule est. Monti ex sepultura sua nomen imposuit, in quo Aeneas Veneris templum constituit." Which story Cranevelt was asking about is, however, unclear.

²⁶ Aegidius Busleyden, a high financial officer in Brussels. Cf. *CE* I, p. 235. Probably some business had to be transacted at the highest level.

²⁷ Robert is most probably Robert de Croy (1505-1556), a younger brother of Cardinal Guillaume de Croy, whom he succeeded as bishop of Cambrai in 1519. At that time Robert was a student at Louvain (matric. 16 March 1518). When the Cardinal died Vives became Robert's tutor for a time. It seems that Vecerius suggested seeking his help together with that of Busleyden.

²⁸ The Diet of Worms, the edict of which was issued on 25 May.

autem hic perstiturus sit Caesar equidem nescio. Illud in augurio est
 140 brevi repetitum Hispaniam. G<ulielmus> Cardinalis Croius hesternae nocte pestifera febri decessit, cum insigni dolore bonorum omnium.

Vale, mi op<time> et iucunde do<mine> doctor Craniveldi.
 Guarmatiae, prid<ie> Idus Ianuarii 1521.

145 D<ominationis> T<uae> Observantissimus Cultor
 Conradus Vecerius, manu propria.

A tergo: Clar<issi>mo viro Domino Doctori Francisco / Craniveldio Pensio/nario Brugensium / amico primario.

Brugis

150 *Alia manu:* A monsieur le Pensionnaire de Bruges.

Ep. 29 J. Borsalus (Veere) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

28 (f.42)

27 I 1521

Borsalus thanks Cranevelt for his quick advice in the matter of letter 23. He cannot write much more now because the courier is staying only a few hours and he himself is about to take the boat to Holland, where he is going to visit his friend Philip van Spangen. There follows an exchange of compliments.

Borsalus is very grateful that Cranevelt has transmitted all he knew about Luther, Hutten, Erasmus and Baechem. He himself does not have any news. There have been false rumours of the death of the English king and Pope Leo X. More reliable seems to be the news that Cardinal de Croy has died. It is said also that two Louvain theologians, J. Latomus and J. Turnout (Driedo) have gone or are going to Germany for a personal discussion with Luther. Borsalus would very much like to be present at such a debate. He does not understand why the theologians of Paris keep such a low profile. More news about all this will be welcome.

Borsalus has written to Geldenhouwer, who is in Overijssel with his bishop: there are troubles in Kampen and Zwolle. Congratulations on Cranevelt's Greek studies. Reciprocal greetings to Cranevelt's wife (Borsalus did not think she remembered him so well) and children. If he still can manage he will now write a letter to Fevynus too. Again greetings from cousin Jacob.

- Salve! Habeo maximam singulari tue humanitati et promptissimo in amici rebus officio gratiam¹. Utinam aliquando liceat mutuam vel tibi vel tuorum cuiquam parem referre! Non sivit tabellarii festinatio, qui hic duabus tribusve ad summum horis substitit, et mea properatio; iam
- 5 enim accinctus eram, navem conscensurus ut in Hollandiam ad Span-
gianum meum² proficiscerer; non sivit, inquam, ut ad te copiosius nunc scriberem. Quare boni consules hanc meam in scribendo brevitatem hoc tempore; ubi domum rediero, scribam aliquando copiosius et, ut spero, legi mihi dicte, ut coram me estate proxima tibi expurgem, tum parebo.
- 10 Quod tam multa mihi tribuis, quorum nihil in me reperio, nihil agnosco, ipse vicissim nihil admittis eorum, que tibi longe infra meritum ascripsi, agnosco veterem modestiam, que cum etate et eruditione etiam crescit [[q]] in dies; agnosco eximium animi candorem mihi pridem aut olim potius familiari convictu probe perspectum.
- 15 Gratissimum mihi fuit quod mihi communicaveris que de Luthero et Hutheno, de Erasmo item et Egmundano³ [[ipse]] acceperas. Ipse nihil nunc habeo novi, quod tibi vicissim impartiam, quin prius ipse isthic cognoveris. Rumusculi hic fuere vulgo cum de morte regis Anglorum, tum de morte Leonis Pontificis Summi, sed vani, ut ferme constat. Sed
- 20 ille verior [[de]] Cardinalem Croyum e vivis excessisse⁴. Illud nescio an audieris Lovanienses duos theologos, Latomum et M(agistrum) N(os-
trum) Joannem Turnoutium⁵ [[nostrum?]] aut profectos aut iamiam profecturos in Germaniam ut cum Luthero coram disceptent de rebus controversis. Quam delectaret me, si liceret, illam spectare et audire
- 25 contentionem et iniquam (ut opinor) concertationem! Parrhysienses demiror in hoc tanti momenti negocio cessare tam diu. Si quid habeas certi de hisce rebus et aliquando scripseris, nos facito queso certiores.
- Ad Gerardum⁶ nostrum scripsi nuper. Is agit cum suo episcopo trans

¹ See letter 23 in which Borsalus asked Cranevelt's legal advice regarding financial matters.

² Philips van Spangen (ca. 1477-1529), since 1509 Lord of Spangen in Schieland, North of Rotterdam. Borsalus owed him his prebend at Middelburg and seems to have turned him into an admirer of Erasmus. See *CE* III, p. 268.

³ Erasmus' fierce opponent, the Carmelite Nicolaas Baechem of Egmond († 1526). See *CE* I, pp. 81-83.

⁴ Vive's patron died at Worms on 10/11 January. See Letter 28 in which Conrad Vecerius communicates the news to Cranevelt from Worms on 12 January. Leo X died at the end of the year.

⁵ See letter 22, notes 6 and 7. Nothing is known about this projected journey.

⁶ viz. Geldenhouwer, accompanying his patron, bishop Philip of Burgundy, to Overijssel. The bishop was involved in troubles with the towns of Kampen and Zwolle.

Isulam: turbulento duarum urbium tumultu, Camporum et Zwollorum,
30 episcopus involutus est. Sed hec hactenus.

Gratulor tibi quod inter ista tot tamque gravia negocia tam feliciter
grecaris. Saluta meis verbis uxorem fecundissimam, cuius nomine sem-
per mihi salutem asscribis tam amice; non putabam me illi tam cogni-
tum aut tam diu fuisse in memoria. Optime cupio liberis tuis dulcissi-
35 mis. Fevino quoque scribam, hac obsignata epistola, si patiantur et tuus
hic tabellarius et meus minister, quem expectabam nostram scriptionem
ob negocia inturbaturum.

Bene vale. Ex Veria, sexto Kalendas Februarias 1521.

Rescribi voluit tibi salutem Jacobus meus ex sorore nepos⁷.

40 Tuus Joannes Borsalus.

A tergo: Eximio Iureconsulto, magistro Francisco / [Cr]aneveldio
amico unice et dilecto observando, apud / Brugas consiliario.

Te Brugghe.

Ep. 30 J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

30 (f.47)

4 II <1521>

Fevynus has read with with great pleasure Vecerius's letter (= letter 28). But he wonders why Cranevelt had not asked him about Mount Venus in Italy, since he has been in Italy too and has investigated there such questions. They have talked so many times about his Italian experiences. Why did he never speak about this point or ask? The location of Mount Soracte is well known; another famous mountain, Etna, has changed its name. Fevynus will be grateful for any information about classical sources on Mount Venus.

Concerning the madness of Luther and Hutten, he fully agrees with Vecerius. Only a fool can listen to them. Why do we not silently admire the inner truths of our religion rather than cry down the Fathers or approve those odious writings?

S. Legi non sine voluptate maxima Conr<adi> nostri literas¹; que hoc me magis delectarunt, quod intersperseris ante in tuis ecquid

⁷ See letter 23, note 4.

¹ Conradus Vecerius and his letter (nr. 28) from Worms.

vestigium Venerei montis uspiam in Italia viseretur. Ego plane sum
 miratus cur non item ex Fevyno tuo hoc quesieris, quum aliquando
 5 obierim Italiam² neque (ut reor) indiligenter hec atque huiusmodi
 pervestigarim. Incidimus enim, mi Craneveldi, toties in sermones Italiae
 cum varios, tum quos etiam oculis lustrassem; neque tamen in hunc
 usque diem hac de re ne verbulum quidem. Mirum est unde hoc
 silentium, aut verius que quaerendi causa. De monte Soracte³ ubinam
 10 sit abunde liquet; alius, etiam quantumvis⁴ celebratus, Ethna, in
 [[Italie]] Apulie⁵ finibus, hoc tempore mutavit nomen⁶. Quamobrem,
 sicubi de monte hoc apud authorem probatum legeris <fac> ut
 sciamus: hoc erit etiam gratum, et levaris me sollicitudine ingenti.

Quod ad Luther<um> et Hut<teni> furias attinet, non possum
 15 non probare Conra<di> sententiam. Quis enim sic delirus sit ut
 confestim iis aures praebeat, ac non potius archana quaedam religionis
 tacitus apud se miretur quam ut in patres furiose desthomacetur, aut
 hec odiose divulgata probet? Verum de iis alias. Vale.

alia manu: Pridie Nonas Februarias

20 Fevynus.

A tergo: Ornatissimo Iureconsulto / D<omi>no et M<agistro>
 Francisco / Craneveldio amico / integerrimo.

Brugis.

² After his studies at Louvain (August 1506-1511 or later) Fevynus went to Italy and visited Bologna, Pavia and Rome. He came home as a *Utriusque Iuris Doctor*. See *Lit.Cr.*, pp. xci-xcix

³ North of Rome in the Sabine region. Famous through Horace's Ode I 9: "Vides ut alta stet nive candidum / Soracte..."

⁴ 'quantumvis' has been added above the line.

⁵ Fevynus first wrote 'Italie', then changed this to 'Apulia' (Le Puglie) which he obviously takes as a name for the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

⁶ Viz. Mongibello, a half-Italian half-Arabic name.

Carmen LOZANO GUILLEN

SOBRE EL CONCEPTO DE GRAMÁTICA EN EL RENACIMIENTO

Los siglos renacentistas, como es sabido, suponen una constante recreación del mundo clásico en las artes y en las letras en general. En este sentido, la labor emprendida por los humanistas comprende un programa completo de estudios literarios en torno a la edición y comentario de textos de un periodo para ellos luminoso. Precisamente esa gran actividad filológica desplegada en los albores de estos nuevos tiempos despierta un interés singular por el estudio técnico de la lengua latina: la gramática¹, pero se hace preciso un nuevo tipo de enfoque que refleje la transformación cultural operada en esta época.

Analizar, pues, la concepción que de la gramática tienen los Renacentistas es el objetivo de este trabajo, lo que trataremos de hacer examinando tanto sus definiciones de esta disciplina como la forma de llevarla a cabo que reflejan sus gramáticas. Sin embargo, no podríamos valorar con un criterio suficientemente autorizado el panorama gramatical humanista sin tener en cuenta la dilatada tradición anterior². Para ello vamos a comenzar dando un repaso al concepto que de dicha disciplina se va forjando a través de los siglos y que los renacentistas heredan, a fin de destacar la aportación de estos últimos a la luz de la tradición que se inicia en el periodo greco-romano y culmina con obras ciertamente complejas como la de Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, *Minerua, seu de causis linguae Latinae*, publicada en su versión completa en 1587³.

¹ A través de las páginas de Sandys (*A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge 1903-08, II, caps. 1-4), podemos hacernos una clara idea de la actividad desplegada por los humanistas en este campo.

² Punto de vista bajo el cual este tema ha sido estudiado hasta ahora sólo de forma marginal en trabajos a los que más adelante tendremos ocasión de referirnos.

³ Del estudio de algunos aspectos de esta obra a la luz de la tradición nos ocupamos en nuestro trabajo *Tradición y originalidad en la 'Minerva' del Brocense* (Valladolid 1989, Tesis en microfichas).

1. *Periodo antiguo*⁴

En Grecia el estudio de la lengua se abordó desde dos perspectivas diferentes. La más antigua realiza sobre ésta reflexiones filosóficas y para explicar su funcionamiento surgen dos teorías contrapuestas: la analogista y la anomalista. Parte de sus doctrinas y principios constituirán una buena base del cuerpo conceptual que había de sustentar la futura disciplina gramatical. La segunda⁵, nació con los alejandrinos asociada a un programa completo de estudios filológicos, de los que la sección propiamente lingüística era tan sólo una parte menor⁶, que comprendía el estudio de la letra, la sílaba y las partes del discurso⁷. Así pues, para los griegos, aparte las tareas propiamente críticas, la actividad gramatical consistía en el examen y descripción de los elementos de la lengua griega del más simple al más complejo; pero dicho análisis se fundaba en la lengua literaria, despreciando las variedades de la lengua hablada, ya que pretendía hallar la regularidad (analogía).

Esta doble tradición del estudio de la lengua es recogida por los romanos. El *De lingua Latina* de Varrón es una muestra del punto de vista que hemos señalado en primer lugar, es decir, el teórico⁸. Pero este tipo de reflexiones no se confundía con la «gramática», que para

⁴ Para este periodo véanse, por ejemplo: H. STEINTHAL, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik* (Berlin 1890-91, repr. Hildesheim 1961), 2 vols.; K. BARWICK, *Remmius Palaemon und die römische Ars Grammatica* (Leipzig 1922, repr. Hildesheim-New York 1967); L. HOLTZ, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical. Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e-IX^e siècle), et édition critique* (Paris 1981); R.H. ROBINS, *Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical theory in Europe* (London 1951).

⁵ «Conocimiento empírico de la lengua literaria» en versión de Dionisio Tracio (*gramm.*, I,I,5). Su *Téchne grammatiké* es el primer tratado conservado que resume el conjunto de conocimientos procedentes de la escuela alejandrina. Cf. R.H. ROBINS, *Breve historia de la lingüística* (Madrid 1980²), pp. 41-47.

⁶ Este es el programa completo: Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἔστιν ἑξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντρίβης κατὰ προσφθίαν, δεύτερον ἐξηγήσις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὑρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὲ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ. (D.T., *ibid.*, I.I., 5-6).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-101.

⁸ En efecto, en los distintos apartados de esta obra abundan las reflexiones sobre la lengua, herederas directas de la perspectiva filosófico-lingüística: *quom oratio natura tripartita esset, ut superioribus libris ostendi, cuius prima pars, quemadmodum vocabula rebus essent imposita, secunda, quo pacto de his declinata in discrimina ierint, tertia, ut ea inter se ratione coniuncta sententiam efferant*, (*ling.*, 8.1). Para la teoría gramatical de Varrón, *vid.*, entre otros, J. COLLART, *Varron grammairien latin* (Paris 1954). Parece que este tipo de ciencia lingüística tuvo una prolongación en Roma hasta la época de Plinio, periodo que Holtz llama «les temps des savants», (*op.cit.*, 10).

Varrón, como para sus sucesores, fue fundamentalmente filología, o si se quiere, literatura en el sentido moderno. No nos ha sobrevivido el *De grammatica*, primer componente de sus *Disciplinarum libri*, pero bastan los fragmentos existentes para comprobar que el concepto de gramática heredado por los romanos coincide con el alejandrino:

Ars grammatica quae a nobis litteratura dicitur scientia quae a poetis historicis oratoribusque dicuntur ex parte maiore, eius praecipua officia sunt quattuor (...) scribere legere intellegere probare (fr. 234)⁹.

El conjunto de actividades específicas de la gramática así concebida se agrupó desde Quintiliano en dos clases, una con una función estético-literaria y otra de carácter técnico lingüístico¹⁰, denominadas respectivamente *historice/exegetice* y *methodice/horistice*. Durante todo el periodo imperial las definiciones de *grammatica* inciden en esta doble tarea: la literaria o interpretativa y la lingüística o preceptiva¹¹. La primera incluye diversos *officia* que van desde la lectura adecuada de la obra literaria hasta la crítica (*lectio, enarratio, emendatio, iudicium*) y se publica por separado en forma de comentario desde época republicana¹².

La segunda o gramática *methodice*, relativa exclusivamente al *recte loquendi scribendique*, está representada por las diversas *artes* escritas en época imperial. En ellas se aborda el estudio de la *littera, syllaba, dictio* y *partes orationis*, así como los *vitia et virtutes orationis* hasta Prisciano (s. VI) quien en sus *Institutiones* dedicó dos libros a la *oratio*.

⁹ Citamos por la edición de H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*.

¹⁰ *Et finitae quidem sunt partes duae quas haec professio (sc. grammatica) pollicetur, id est ratio loquendi et enarratio auctorum, quarum illam methodicen, hanc historicen uocant*, (Quint. inst., 1,9,1). La parte relativa a la crítica textual es interdisciplinar, ya que conlleva el conocimiento de otras muchas ciencias. Por ello Quintiliano no concibe la gramática sin los conocimientos de la música, la astronomía, la filosofía o la elocuencia (inst. 1,4,4-5).

¹¹ Tomemos como ejemplo la versión de Diomedes: *Grammatica est specialiter scientia exercitata lectionis et expositionis eorum quae apud poetas et scriptores dicuntur (...) grammaticae partes sunt duae, altera quae vocatur exegetice, altera horistice, exegetice est enarrativa, quae pertinet ad officia lectionis: horistice est finitiva, quae praecepta demonstrat (...) tota autem grammatica consistit praecipue intellectu poetarum et scriptorum et historiarum prompta expositione et in recte loquendi scribendique ratione* (gramm., 1,426). Como se observará los términos *exegetice* y *horistice* sustituyen a los de *historice* y *methodice* de Quintiliano.

¹² Recordemos que Varrón publicó varias obras de carácter crítico sobre el teatro en general y también sobre Plauto. Por su parte también los autores imperiales de las *artes* publicaron comentarios sobre los poetas antiguos como parte de su labor docente. Buen ejemplo de esta función son los comentarios de E. Donato a Terencio y a Virgilio o el de Servio a este último poeta.

Así pues, el *grammaticus* es a la vez maestro de lengua y literatura en sentido moderno. A este respecto es importante señalar que toda la gramática imperial construye sus preceptos sobre un modelo inmutable: la literatura clásica. La natural evolución de la lengua ha producido mutaciones en la pronunciación, la morfología o la sintaxis que no se registran en las gramáticas; por el contrario, se condenan como contravenciones de la norma y se siguen imponiendo las formas antiguas¹³. El concepto de corrección del lenguaje, *Latinitas*, se forma ya en el periodo republicano y es fruto de una actitud de alerta frente a invasiones de orden rústico, dialectal o foráneo y, por tanto, conservadora¹⁴. La gramática bajoimperial halló el lenguaje en estado puro en la literatura clásica y contribuyó a que dicha lengua se convirtiera en modelo para la posteridad, instituyéndola como único fundamento de sus preceptos.

A finales de la antigüedad, con el triunfo del cristianismo la Iglesia acaba haciéndose cargo de la enseñanza¹⁵. Se produce un cambio de intereses que tendrá su reflejo en la gramática y a la autoridad de los autores clásicos se incorpora la de las Sagradas Escrituras, cuya lengua está por encima de la preceptiva gramatical. Por otra parte, la gramática dejará de tener un fin en sí misma y se convertirá en un instrumento imprescindible para acceder a la palabra de Dios. Sus límites se circunscriben ahora a la parte *methodice*, es decir, la propiamente lingüística. La gramática es, en palabras de Isidoro: *scientia recte loquendi* (*Orig.*, I,5) y además el umbral que da acceso a las restantes artes liberales: *origo et fundamentum liberalium artium* (*ibid*).

¹³ Piénsese p.ej. en la *Appendix Probi* y los numerosos tratados de ortografía existentes.

¹⁴ El propio Cicerón sentía ya preocupación por la pureza de la lengua y defendía en general el uso de los autores antiguos: *sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant neque eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscaverat, recte loquebantur* (*Brut.* 258). Para Varrón la *Latinitas* es la *Romana lingua: Latinitas est incorrupta loquendi observatio secundum Romanam linguam*, (fr. 268). Cf. M.C. DIAZ Y DIAZ, «*Latinitas*, sobre la evolución de su concepto», *Emerita* 19 (1951), 35-50.

¹⁵ Para la evolución de la educación pública pagana a la cristiana, vid. M. ROGER, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris 1905, repr. Hildesheim 1968); I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1948); P. RICHÉ, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare, VI-VIII siècles* (Paris 1962).

2. *Periodo medieval*¹⁶

En el sistema educativo medieval la gramática ocupó un lugar de honor entre las llamadas artes liberales¹⁷. En este periodo se desarrolla a través de las dos vías de estudio del lenguaje creadas en la Antigüedad: la didáctico-práctica, única hasta el s. XI, y la de los filósofos o especulativa, que se suma a la otra en la Baja Edad Media. Ambas, sin embargo, recibieron la denominación de «gramática».

La primera continúa la tradición de la antigüedad tardía, que había iniciado la disociación de la gramática de los estudios literarios. Alcuino la recibe ya como *litteralis scientia* y añade que salvaguarda la corrección de la lengua escrita y hablada (*custos recte loquendi et scribendi* (col. 857). De hecho gran parte de la apoyatura textual utilizada no procede directamente de las obras literarias sino de la Biblia y de los ejemplos que recorren las *artes* bajoimperiales.

Ni Donato ni Prisciano, fuentes básicas para los medievales, definieron la gramática y éste parece ser el motivo de que algunos tratados escolares del medievo no lo hicieran¹⁸. No obstante, cuando se define, es claro que la crítica literaria no es objeto de estudio de la gramática:

Quid est grammatica? Grammatica est scientia recte loquendi secundum liberalium litterarum instituta, que in disciplinis post litteras communes inventa ceteris regula facta est et origo (H. de Saint Victor, p. 76).

Ello no quiere decir que pierdan por completo el contacto con los autores, cuya lectura era necesaria para aprender lengua y versificación; pero su objeto se limita a describir los fenómenos de la lengua y a establecer una serie de preceptos sobre lo que es correcto e incorrecto. De hecho, el conjunto de estudios se encamina, en principio, a enseñar a leer, escribir y hablar correctamente el latín, y este principio tiene continuidad durante todo el periodo medieval¹⁹.

¹⁶ Para un panorama general de la gramática en esta época, vid. Ch. THUROT, *Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Age* (Paris 1968, repr. Frankfurt 1961); R.H. ROBINS, *Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical theory...*; E. PEREZ RODRIGUEZ, «Mittelalters Grammatik», *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, s.v. Grammatik.

¹⁷ Cf. P. ABELSON, *The Seven Liberal Arts* (New York 1906).

¹⁸ Por ej. ni Smaragdo (s. IX) ni Alejandro de Villadei (1199) o Ebrardo de Béthune (1200) definen la gramática en sus respectivos tratados.

¹⁹ Los diversos comentarios de los ss. XIII y XIV conservan la misma fórmula que, erróneamente, atribuyen a Prisciano. La siguiente procede de una glosa al *Doctrinale*: *Secundum Priscianum grammatica est scientia recte scribendi recte scripta intelligendi, recte intellecta pronuntiandi* (apud. THUROT, *op.cit.*, 122).

Con el redescubrimiento de Aristóteles en la Baja Edad Media la dialéctica pasa a ocupar el lugar preeminente en el currículum escolar que hasta entonces tenía la gramática y proporciona el método de trabajo en todas las demás disciplinas, incluida la gramática, provocando en su orientación una serie de cambios sustanciales²⁰.

La gramática pasa así de interesarse meramente por los fenómenos de la lengua a dirigir su atención al descubrimiento de sus causas y a proceder por rigurosa demostración:

Quoniam in omni doctrina grammatica preedit, de ea dicere proposuimus, quoniam, etsi Priscianus inde satis dicat, tamen obscuras dat definitiones nec exponit, causas vero inventionis diversarum partium et diversorum accidentium in unaquaque pretermittit... (Guillermo de Conches, *De philosophia mundi*, apud THUROT, *op.cit.*, p. 17).

La disciplina acaba por convertirse en ciencia —lo que se refleja inmediatamente en las definiciones (*Grammatica ergo est scientia gnara recte scribendi et recte loquendi*, P. Helias, f. 1^r)— según el concepto de Aristóteles (*Analytica posteriora*)²¹, es decir universal, tal como se encuentra ya en R. Kilwardby o R. Bacon (s. XIII):

Grammatica una et eadem est secundum substantiam in omnibus linguis, licet accidentaliter varietur (R. Bacon, p.27).

Tras esos dos gramáticos y durante el siglo XIII la gramática modista materializará esa sustancia común como la expresión de los conceptos de la mente en oraciones coherentes:

Quoniam grammatica est sermocinalis scientia, sermonem et passiones eius in communi ad exprimendum principaliter mentis conceptus per sermonem coniugatum considerans... (S. Cortracensis, *Summa.*, p. 1).

De esta forma se pasó del estudio de los fenómenos al de los fundamentos que sustentan dichos fenómenos y, finalmente, al de sus principios universales.

La exclusión de la crítica literaria lleva aparejada la crisis del modelo de lengua tradicional, inmutable —la *Latinitas*—, y también la permeabilidad ante nuevas entradas de *auctoritates* que apoyen las reglas gramaticales. Y así, aunque se sigue conservando la referencia a autores

²⁰ Cf. G.L. BURSILL-HALL, *Speculative Grammars in the Middle Ages* (The Hague-Paris 1971), p. 23.

²¹ Para la evolución de la gramática-arte a la gramática-ciencia, *vid.* J. PINBORG, *Die Entwicklung der Sprachtheorie im Mittelalter* (Münster-Kopenhagen 1967), pp. 21-55.

clásicos paganos, con la misma autoridad se cita a los contemporáneos y, por supuesto, proliferan los *exempla* bíblicos. El modelo de lengua primitivo queda, pues, muy lejano en la realidad medieval. La gramática especulativa, por su parte, se desliga por completo de los textos, ya sean estos antiguos o modernos. La particularidad lingüística no constituye el objeto de su investigación; por el contrario, buscan las estructuras comunes a todas las lenguas (*eadem apud omnes*). Sus *exempla* son proposiciones lógicas del tipo *Socrates currit*, etc.

En resumen, la sección de la gramática que sobrevive en este periodo de la historia, la parte técnica o *methodice*, se estructura desde una doble perspectiva, la práctica y la teórica. La primera trabaja sobre hechos de lengua, la segunda sobre proposiciones apriorísticas cuyo rigor científico viene asegurado por la aplicación estricta del rígido método argumentativo producto de la especial interpretación escolástica del *organon* aristotélico. La gramática se convierte en ciencia, sus postulados no se contrastan ya con los textos —hechos particulares de lengua—, porque lo que se pretende es estudiar la sustancia común a todas las lenguas, exigencia de toda disciplina que se autodefina como ciencia.

Este clima intelectual favorece los estudios gramaticales y los hallazgos de los gramáticos-filósofos repercuten en los manuales didáctico-normativos. Todo ello supone una profunda transformación que atañe al concepto de la lengua objeto de estudio y al sentido de la propia disciplina. Esta es la situación con la que se encuentra el Renacimiento.

3. Periodo renacentista.

3.1. Cuando todavía en Europa se seguían utilizando manuales como el *Doctrinale* o el *Graecismus*, Valla escribió que la última *auctoritas* en gramática la constituía el triunvirato formado por Donato, Servio y Prisciano. Tras ellos, continúa Valla, todo el que escribió sobre la lengua latina no hizo más que *balbutire* desde Isidoro, pasando por Papias, Ebrardo y Hugucio hasta el *Catholicon*, entre otros²². Este

²² ... aut tres illi tamquam triumviri, de quorum principatu inter eruditos quaeritur, Donatus, Servius, Priscianus: quibus ego tantum tribuo, ut post eos quicumque aliquid de latinitate scripserunt, balbutire uideantur: quorum primus est Isidorus, indoctorum arrogantissimus, qui cum nihil sciat, omnia praecepit. Post hunc Papias aliique indoctiores, Eberhardus, Hugutio, Catholicon, Aymo et ceteri indigni qui nominentur, magna mercede docentes nihil scire aut stultiorem reddentes discipulum quam acceperunt (Praef. ad lib.II, *Elegant.*, pp. 103-104).

lema se extiende rápidamente por toda Europa hasta convertirse en un tópico y la condena al método de enseñanza medieval es prácticamente unánime en los humanistas pertenecientes a una generación posterior a la de Valla²³. A pesar de estas declaraciones es más la deuda contraída con la teoría gramatical del Medievo que la que ellos mismos reconocen, hasta el punto de que en ciertos aspectos de la teoría gramatical renacentista se puede hablar de una evolución de la etapa anterior y no del enfrentamiento que la mayoría de ellos mismos manifiestan²⁴.

La labor que se imponen los primeros humanistas no es tanto la modificación de los preceptos heredados por la tradición cuanto adaptar y perfeccionar dichos preceptos a las corrientes culturales del momento. Esta nueva realidad choca fundamentalmente con dos rasgos característicos que definen el tratado medieval: el uso de argumentos procedentes de la lógica en apoyo de los preceptos y, en el caso de utilizar apoyo textual, el uso indiscriminado de fuentes. Condenan asimismo la envoltura de todo el cuerpo doctrinal, es decir, la expresión poco pulida o 'bárbara', como ellos mismos la denominan²⁵.

No es de extrañar, por consiguiente, que durante un tiempo —hasta mediados del s. XVI— no haya aportación a la filosofía del lenguaje. Antes al contrario, el tratado humanista contrasta con el de sus antecesores no tanto en los contenidos como en la forma de presentación, desprovista de cualquier soporte de tipo teórico y, consiguientemente, en el énfasis puesto en que las normas deben basarse en razones filológicas. Las primeras aportaciones gramaticales fruto del nuevo

²³ Cf. F. RICO, *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros. El canon de gramáticos nefastos en las polémicas del humanismo* (Salamanca 1978), p. 33 y 34.

²⁴ Cf. W.K. PERCIVAL, «Renaissance Grammar: Rebellion or Evolution?», *Interrogativi dell'Umanesimo (Atti del X Convegno internazionale del Centro di Studi Umanistici)*, Firenze 1976, pp. 73-90, así como «The Place of the *Rudimenta grammatices* in the History of Latin Grammar», *Res publica Litterarum* 4 (1981), 233-264.

²⁵ Un buen ejemplo de esta actitud de condena es el opúsculo escrito por el humanista nórdico Alexander Hegius, cuyo tema monográfico es la crítica al sistema modista (vid. J. IJSEWIJN, «Alexander Hegius († 1493) *Invectiva in modos significandi*, Text, Intr. and Notes», *Forum for modern Languages Studies*, 7.4 (1971), 299-318; revisado en *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 22 (1973), 334-335). Paradójicamente, en pleno s. XVI, en Italia, se escribe todavía alguna gramática según el más puro método especulativo, como la *Regula grammaticae speculativae* (Venetiis 1539) de Blas Pico, quien, con ayuda de sus reflexiones, pretende oponer la *veritas* a la *elegantia*: *Credo nonnullos me barbarum appellaturos: videntes nostrum hoc opusculum lepore sermonis vacuum: atque ab omni fere oratorio stylo alienum. Attamen nonnullis placitum confido: quoniam (ut inquit Boetius) ubi veritas quaeritur, luculenta oratio non est quaerenda* (Prol. f. 2°).

clima cultural se remontan a los comienzos del siglo XV²⁶. En ellas la cita clásica es invocada como única garantía de veracidad lingüística. Esta nueva orientación se manifiesta ya en la definición de la disciplina y así, mientras Juan de Pastrana²⁷ se incardina todavía en la tradición medieval, según la formulación que nos transmite del arte gramatical:

Grammatica est ars docens congrue loqui, recte et debite partes pronuntiare (f.47^r);

Peroto y sus seguidores recogen ya esta significativa precisión de que sus tratados se basan sólo en el buen uso de la lengua latina:

Quid est grammatica? Est ars recte loquendi, recte scribendi, scriptorum et poetarum lectionibus observata (N. Perott., f. 2^r).

Quid est grammatica? scientia recte loquendi recteque scribendi ex doctissimorum uirorum usu atque auctoritate collecta (Nebrija, recog., III,1)²⁸.

El buen uso es, pues, según estos tratadistas, patrimonio de los *auctores doctissimi*, que no son otros sino los *antiqui*, en cuyas obras se halla la verdadera *Latinitas* desdeñada por los medievales²⁹. De este modo, los humanistas se vanaglorian de basar sus aserciones fundamentalmente en la *auctoritas* de los clásicos:

²⁶ La primera gramática escrita por un humanista es el tratado titulado *Regulae Grammaticales* de Guarino de Verona (1374-1460). Cf. K.W. PERCIVAL, «The Grammatical Tradition and the Rise of Vernaculars», *Historiography of Linguistics. Current Trends in Linguistics*, ed. T.A. Sebeok (The Hague 1975), pp. 231-275.

²⁷ Su *Compendium grammaticae* (*Thesaurus pauperum*), de difícil datación, fue muy popular en suelo ibérico. Sirvió de texto universitario junto con el *Doctrinale* hasta que fue desterrado por las *Introductiones* de Nebrija. Cf. J.M. CASAS HOMS «El *Thesaurus pauperum* de Juan de Pastrana. Un manuscrito catalán», *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 22 (1949), 233-248; y V. BONMATI, «Juan de Pastrana, Fernando Nepote y Antonio de Nebrija», *Actas del VII Congreso español de Estudios Clásicos*, IV (Madrid 1989), 387-392.

²⁸ Esta definición pertenece a la edición de las *Introductiones* de 1495. Para las distintas ediciones de dicha obra, vid. V. BONMATI, «Tradición e innovación en las ediciones de las *Introductiones Latinae* de Antonio de Nebrija», *Estudios clásicos* 93 (1988), 73-79.

²⁹ Este convencimiento está basado naturalmente en la consciencia de que el latín se había convertido en una lengua muerta: *Nec mihi sane nimia illa preceptorum observatio, ut exposui, placet, et si populum haberemus, vel Latine loquentem, vel Graece, mallet cum eo annum unum ad linguam illam percipiendam versari, quam sub eruditissimis ludi magistris annos decem; nunc vero quum ciuitatem nullam habeamus, vel Latinae, vel Hebraicae, quarum tandem usu discemus linguas has?* (J.L. Vives, *De causis corrup. art.*, vol. 6, p. 82), vid. E. COSERIÜ, «Acerca de la Teoría del lenguaje de Juan Luis Vives», *Tradición y novedad en la ciencia del lenguaje* (Madrid 1977), pp. 62-85.

Grammatica ex doctissimorum autoritate tota pendet: non ex rationibus aut analogia sine autoritate (Despauterius, p. 218).

Este periodo antiguo, en un principio indeterminado, va restringiendo sus límites a medida que madura la gramática, reduciéndose la época dorada del latín al periodo comprendido entre Terencio y Virgilio³⁰, idea que sin duda tiene su origen en las gramáticas bajoimperiales. Ejemplo elocuente de tal criterio selectivo nos lo ofrece P. Ramus. Como se observará en el siguiente texto, la época de Quintiliano queda ya fuera del clasicismo³¹:

Nec omnino ab aetate Quintiliani Latinitatis ullum consensum statuamus: populus enim postea Latinus nullus admodum fuit, neque jam tum valde erat, cum Quintilianus ipse primo libro profiteatur aetate sua, tota saepe Romana theatra barbara exclamasse. Ad illius igitur antiqui populi, cujus sermonem in Varronis, Caesaris, Ciceronis, Terentij, Salustij et authorum similium monumentis animadvertimus, auctoritatem, Grammaticae linguae dirigamus, id (inquam) Grammaticae fundamentum nobis esto (col. 14,21)³².

Aun así esta empresa de depuración del latín no se cumple totalmente hasta finales del s. XVI. Ramus atribuye la mayoría de las contradicciones a los ejemplos inventados, tomados de las Sagradas Escrituras o de autores poco apropiados³³. El Brocense denuncia más de tres mil errores cometidos por *veteres* o *recentiores*: *... lector attentus et diligens hic tum veterum tum recentiorum supra tria millia errorum expiscabitur*, (*Min., praef.*, f. 4v). En efecto, tras un siglo de gramática «renovada» se siguen presentando ejemplos que no se encuentran entre las *bonae litterae*. Construcciones como *ego amo deum*, *vapulo a praeceptore*, *do tibi damnum* tan duramente criticadas en la *Minerva* se encuentran normalmente en las gramáticas humanistas³⁴.

³⁰ Vid. J. M. NUÑEZ, «Ciceronianismo y latín renacentista», *Minerva* 5 (1991) (en prensa).

³¹ Nebrija, en cambio, había establecido unos límites mucho más amplios, concretamente hasta la época de Adriano (cf. F. RICO, *op.cit.*, 43).

³² En ello abunda asimismo el Brocense: «Los antiguos grammaticos Latinos viendo que la pureza de la lengua latina despues de los tiempos de Augusto Cesar iua de caida, començaron a reduzir a arte la grauedad de los passados, porque no se perdiessse», (*Arte...*, f. 44^v). Cf. J. M. NUÑEZ, *Cicerón en el Renacimiento Español* (Valladolid 1982), p. 299 (tesis inédita).

³³ *Infinitae grammaticorum contradictiones sunt, quae verae simul esse non possunt. Plerique fere omnes commentis exemplis et a sese confictis sunt contenti, exemplorum ex idoneis authoribus demonstrationem nullam adferunt. Ac si qui attulerint e sacris litteris aut e profanis nihilo elegantioribus petuerant* (*Scholae in gramm.*, col. 6,1).

³⁴ P. ej. Manucio: *ego amo deum* (*Instit.*, f. 61^r); Nebrija: *vapulo a lictore*, *veneo a patre*

3.2. Esta formalización del modelo de *Latinitas* va acompañada de otro gran salto hacia el modelo clásico, que afecta igualmente al concepto de la disciplina: la recuperación del contenido primigenio de la gramática, es decir, la filología. Como es sabido los primeros humanistas realizan una notable labor en la edición y comentario de la literatura clásica, de la que se considera parte integrante también la gramática; es más, únicamente se proyecta sobre la literatura. El gramático reclama la parte *historica* o *enarrativa* de la tradición y este ideal que comienza en Italia se irradia por toda Europa:

Quotuplex est grammatica? Quintiliano auctore duplex. Historice quae in enarrandis auctoribus uersatur, ad imitationem proposita, et Methodice quae artis praecepta continet (Nebrija, *ibid.*).

Esta concepción de la disciplina se prolonga hasta el siglo XVI. Despauterius defiende todavía la parte crítica de la gramática: *Grammaticorum hae sunt partes: ut omne scriptorum genus poetas, historicos, oratores, philosophos, medicos, iurisconsultos excutiant atque enarrent* (p. 184)³⁵. Tras un periodo de vacilación³⁶ la gramática reclama su independencia de la crítica literaria y de este modo sus contenidos vuelven a coincidir con la *materia grammaticae* medieval. La generación a la que pertenece el Brocense no puede contemplar ya la disciplina como un complemento más de los estudios literarios, sino como una ciencia que tiene interés en sí misma. Para Escalígero, Ramus y el Brocense el objeto de la gramática se agota en la reflexión sobre el lenguaje y sus límites son el *recte loqui*:

Grammatici igitur unus finis est recte loqui (J.C. Scalig., *praef.*)³⁷.

(*Introduct.* 1481, f. 27^{va}); Despauterius: *vapulas a praeceptore* (*Comment. gramm.*, p. 345).

³⁵ Cf. la famosa caracterización de Poliziano inserta en la silva *Lamia*: *Grammaticorum enim sunt hae partes, ut omne scriptorum genus, poetas, historicos, oratores, philosophos, medicos, iureconsultos excutiant atque enarrent* (apud A. SCAGLIONE, «The Humanist as Scholar and Politian's Conception of the *Grammaticus*», *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961), 62).

³⁶ Saturnio todavía incluye en los *fines grammaticae* la *enarratio auctorum* (*Merc. mai., praef.*); Melanchthon, por su parte, cree que excede los límites de una sola ciencia: *Sed haec (sc. enarratio) maior opera est quam ut intra grammaticae fines contineatur, adeoque late patet, ut non unius alicuius artis, sed omnium prope disciplinarum cognitionem requirat potius, quam ad artis ipsius subiectum pertinere eadem uidetur* (*Gramm.*, p. 12).

³⁷ Lo mismo opinan Ramus (*Grammatica est ars bene loquendi* (col. 16.3) y el Brocense (*Grammatica est ars recte loquendi* (*Min.*, I,2,f.9^o).

Sobre esta concepción pesa, naturalmente, la atención que se presta a la división de las ciencias. El Brocense postula que *artium vsum coniunctum esse oportere: artes vero, separatim tradendas* (*ibid.*, I,2,f.9^r). Desde esta perspectiva se critica vigorosamente el concepto de gramática anterior:

Quintilianus Etymologiae et Syntaxeos grammaticam, methodicen uocat: sed historicen addidit, partem quae Grammaticae facit. At per se id in Grammatica esse non potest, ut jam dixi, quamuis Tullius eundem uulgi errorem secutus, Grammaticis tribuat poetarum pertractationem, historiae cognitionem, uerborum interpretationem, pronuntiandi quendam sonum. At duo prima diuersae disciplinae esse possunt, neque sunt in Grammatica per se (...) Quapropter Historia Grammaticae pars nulla est (P. Ramus, cols. 16,49 y 17)³⁸.

Por consiguiente, el primer Renacimiento recupera el ideal que sustentó el origen y desarrollo de la gramática desde el periodo alejandrino. La segunda generación de gramáticos, sin restar valor a la filología³⁹, reclama para la gramática un contenido más restringido y específico, el propiamente lingüístico, y con ello se inscribe asimismo en la antigua tradición de la filosofía del lenguaje, que previamente había sido recuperada por los tardomedievales.

3.3. Finalmente, otra característica importante del concepto de gramática renacentista llega asimismo de la mano de las gramáticas uallamadas «racionalistas». En efecto, el segundo siglo renacentista parece haber superado la fase meramente descriptiva que, en su búsqueda de claridad y sencillez, se limitó a la reproducción de los paradigmas en la morfología y a la relación de un inventario de usos en la sintaxis. Este sistema presidía las primeras gramáticas (Peroto, Sulpicio, Manucio, Nebrija, Melanchthon e incluso Despauterius).

La investigación de esta última etapa gira en torno a la búsqueda de los principios que sustentan esa multiplicidad de usos⁴⁰; lo que requiere

³⁸ De la misma opinión es el Brocense: *Mihi perfectus, absolutusque grammaticus est ille qui in Ciceronis, vel Virgilij libris intelligit quae dictio sit nomen, quae verbum, et caetera quae ad solam grammaticam spectant, etiam si sensum uerborum non intelligat. Est enim oratorum et poetarum lectio varijs artibus referta, quas si magister iste callet, iam non grammaticus dicendus est. Sed, dum explanat Astrologiam, astrologus, dum historiam, historicus...* (*ibid.*, I,2,f.8^v).

³⁹ Todos ellos destacan por sus trabajos en la literatura clásica: Escalígero, con su célebre *Ars poetica*, seguidora de la doctrina aristotélica, o su réplica a Erasmo en defensa de Cicerón; Ramus, con sus famosas lecciones sobre Cicerón y Virgilio. El Brocense, por su parte, editó a Virgilio, Horacio, Persio, Ovidio, Ausonio...

⁴⁰ Para esta época de la gramática, *vid.*, entre otros, J. C. CHEVALIER, *Histoire de la*

un método adecuado a esos objetivos. Este movimiento supone una reacción contra la excesiva insistencia en el *usus*, característica principal de los humanistas anteriores o *novi grammatici* ⁴¹. Ello trajo como consecuencia una profunda modificación en los planteamientos y criterios de análisis. Comienzan a escribirse gramáticas destinadas a lectores formados en las que se intenta organizar el material inventariado por sus antecesores y se trata de hallar explicaciones y razones a la variedad de construcciones.

Un primer esfuerzo en esta dirección es la obra del británico Tomás Linacro *De emandata structura Latini sermonis*⁴². En ella observamos una serie de rasgos que la distinguen de las anteriores: es una gramática dirigida a un lector formado; sus explicaciones sobre el metalenguaje utilizado⁴³ y una serie de consideraciones de carácter teórico eran inconcebibles, como hemos visto, en las gramáticas renacentistas anteriores por reacción al sistema bajomedieval⁴⁴, pero quizá lo más destacado es el énfasis puesto en la reorganización de la materia gramatical, agrupando bajo conceptos generales lo que anteriormente se presentaba sin ningún carácter unitario, hecho que se manifiesta sobre todo en los libros dedicados a la *constructio*. A esto se añade la discusión de categorizaciones tradicionales prácticamente incuestionadas hasta ese momento. Consiguientemente en Linacro se aúnan ya las dos tradiciones existentes y la lógica vuelve a insinuarse en la gramática⁴⁵.

syntaxe. Naissance de la notion complément (Paris-Genève 1968) y G. A. PADLEY, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500-1700. The Latin Tradition* (Cambridge 1976).

⁴¹ Así los llama precisamente Blas Pico por basar sus postulados únicamente en el *usus*: *Quomodo grammatica in auctorum, et poetarum consistit, ut novi grammatici dicunt? Dico quod quidam ignari putant totam grammaticam tantum in auctoritatibus consistere, sed non est ita* (*Regula.*, f. 4^v).

⁴² Vid. K. JENSEN, «*De emendata structura Latini sermonis*: The Latin Grammar of Thomas Linacre», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 106-125.

⁴³ Por ej. *Personam hoc loco generaliter appello, quicquid rationem exhibet alicuius ut subsistentis, uel uocati, uel agentis, uel patientis, uel cui accedit, deceditue quippiam, uel causae, uel loci, uel temporis, uel instrumenti, uel denique quod casus alicuius propriam rationem praefert, uoceturque (si non displicet) haec, constructionis persona* (*De emendata.* III, f. 50^r).

⁴⁴ Es de advertir que, salvo este tratado de Linacro, durante la primera centuria renacentista sólo se escriben manuales de tipo práctico destinados a la primera instrucción del latín. También Linacro escribió dos gramáticas elementales (*Progymnasmata grammatices uulgaria* y *Rudimenta grammatices*), compuestas ambas en lengua vernácula y publicadas hacia 1520. Cf. K. JENSEN, art.cit., 106, n.2.

⁴⁵ Se encuentran elementos coincidentes con el sistema modista, aunque es difícil precisar si su formación procede directamente de Aristóteles o no.

El camino que se esboza en Linacro progresa hacia una abierta condena del método humanístico y la reacción frente a éste conduce a las gramáticas racionalistas o causistas. El criterio que se incorpora a los ya utilizados es el de la *ratio*. En Linacro la *ratio* no tiene más sentido que el tradicional, propiamente filológico⁴⁶. Saturnio la incorpora entre los criterios de análisis, dentro de una jerarquía que parte del *usus*⁴⁷. Sin embargo, su aplicación es semajante a la de Linacro, es decir, la mejor garantía de sus postulados la siguen constituyendo los textos.

El verdadero cambio de perspectiva surge a partir de 1540, fecha de la publicación del *De causis linguae Latinae*, por parte de Escalígero. La obra pretende sustentar con argumentos filosóficos toda la tradición anterior sin ningún recelo ya contra el método escolástico. Bien al contrario, su proyecto consiste en someter a cuestión el cuerpo de doctrina heredado con la ayuda de la lógica (*ratio*). Escalígero no duda en afirmar que la gramática es una rama de la filosofía:

cuius profecto iudico Grammaticam non solum esse Philosophiae partem, id quod nemo sane negat, sed ne ab eius quidem cognitione dissolui posse intelligeremus (praef.).

La *ratio* es la facultad que permite aprehender lo universal partiendo de lo particular:

Est autem ratio uis animae, qua id, quod ea praeditum est, comprehendit uniuersalia (ibid.).

A partir de Escalígero la gramática recupera el cauce teórico interrumpido por la primera generación de humanistas. Las *rationes* vuelven a formar parte de la ciencia gramatical y dan rigor a los preceptos sin restar importancia a la experiencia (*usus*), base de la reflexión renacentista⁴⁸. Petrus Ramus, a pesar de algunas diferencias notables, se sitúa en la misma corriente que Escalígero. Para él tampoco basta con presentar una selección del *usus*; el gramático debe construir su arte con

⁴⁶ ... *recta grammatices ratio ea est, qua ueterum probatissimi plurimum cum loquendo, tum scribendo sunt uti* (f. 49^v).

⁴⁷ *Quae omnia cum arbitrio scriptorum in primis dicta sint, nimirum consequor, latinitatem auctoritate, usuque magis, quam ulla certa ratione constare* (II, p. 123).

⁴⁸ «L'humaniste en lui a trop le respect du texte, le souci de la belle latinité, pour ne pas railler ceux qui prétendent corriger Virgile ou Cicéron», J. Stefanini, «Jules César Scaliger et son *De causis linguae Latinae*», in *History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics*, ed. H. Parret (Berlin-New York 1976), p. 322.

los instrumentos que le proporciona la filosofía: *instrumentis ex intima philosophia depromptis* (col.110,33) y más concretamente la dialéctica. En las páginas preliminares de sus *Scholae in grammaticam* pone énfasis en los principios que deben inspirar al gramático para que su investigación resulte científica. Los planteamientos sobre la materia y el procedimiento gramatical se resuelven con la ayuda de las *logicae leges*, garantía de rigor. Funda su método, según confiesa él mismo, en la doctrina lógica aristotélica (*Analytica posteriora*): *istas uero causas Aristoteles Analyticis libris explicauit* (col. 5,24), aplicando a la materia gramatical las mismas leyes que aplicó Aristóteles a otras ciencias.

La propuesta del Brocense⁴⁹ consiste en hallar los *vera principia* capaces de dar respuesta a la multiplicidad de usos que manifiestan los textos. Los criterios invocados, *ratio*, *usus*, *auctoritas*, no constituyen en principio originalidad, a no ser en el modo de aplicarlos. El sentido de *ratio* es mucho más amplio que en sus antecesores pero, en todo caso, preside la lengua y la gramática:

At inuasit multos peruersa quaedam opinio, seu barbaries potius, in Grammatica et sermone Latino nullas esse causas, nullamque penitus inquirendam esse rationem (Min., I,1,f.5^v).

Con el ejercicio de la *ratio* el gramático está en condiciones de encontrar la primitiva regularidad y distinguir así lo gramatical de lo meramente estilístico. La *ratio* así concebida junto con el *usus* es criterio suficiente y necesario para amparar científicamente las diversas formulaciones que recorren la *Minerva*. Ambos están relacionados: *usus porro sine ratione non mouetur, alioqui abusus, non usus dicendus erit* (ibid., f.7^r).

Pero quizá lo más destacable es su crítica feroz a un tercer criterio utilizado tradicionalmente: el del *magister dixit*, denominado por él en ocasiones *auctoritas*⁵⁰:

Quae causa fuit, ut has nostras vigilias Mineruam, seu de causis linguae Latinae inscriberemus. Quia cuiuslibet quaestionis causas et vera principia eruere conamur, improbantes cum Cicerone Pytagoricum illud: 'Ipse dixit' (ibid.)

⁴⁹ C. Codoñer examina estas cuestiones en «Aproximación al método de trabajo de Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas», *Alcántara* 6 (1985), 125-44. Vid. asimismo «Ratio en el Brocense», *Stephanion. Homenaje a María C. Giner* (Salamanca 1988), pp. 177-82.

⁵⁰ Causa de errores de interpretación por parte de la crítica, que lo identifica con *usus*. Este hecho ha sido discutido ya por J.M. Núñez, «Cicerón en el Renacimiento...».

En este sentido, una nueva aportación del Brocense consiste en la distinción clara entre *auctoritas* de uso y *auctoritas* de opinión. La primera (los testimonios de los autores canónicos) es indiscutible para Sánchez, la segunda (los postulados de los gramáticos de cualquier época) carece de valor si no se somete a cuestión; en ese sentido, cualquier autoridad, por egregia que sea, es sometida en la *Minerva* a una doble prueba, la de la experiencia: *auctoritas vero ab vsu sumpsit incrementum: nam si ab vsu recedat, auctoritas nulla est (ibid.)*, y la de la razón: *nam quantacumque auctoritate mihi grammaticus polleat, nisi ratione propositisque exemplis, quod dixerit, confirmauerit, nullam in re praesertim grammatica, fidem faciet (ibid., f.7^v)*.

4. A partir de los testimonios presentados podríamos resaltar algunas de las aportaciones más importantes de la gramática renacentista que afectan al concepto de la ciencia, a la vista de la tradición.

Durante la primera centuria y como reacción contra las últimas tendencias medievales la gramática se integra en un conjunto más amplio de estudios propiamente filológicos y literarios —recuperando el sentido alejandrino de la disciplina. Tras un periodo de vacilación la gramática reclama autonomía con la consiguiente disociación de los estudios literarios.

El «empacho» causado por la sofisticación dialéctica de la producción especulativa bajomedieval hace que los primeros humanistas sólo escriban gramáticas de grado elemental, que a partir de Linacro (1524) se complementarán con tratados más complejos que requieren un conocimiento previo por parte del lector de los rudimentos de la lengua. Así, la primera etapa de la gramática es excluyente, no concibe otro destino para la gramática que la enseñanza. La segunda, complementaria, ya que se siguen practicando los dos niveles y un mismo autor puede escribir una gramática elemental para principiantes y un tratado con gran aparato teórico para aquellos que deseen profundizar sobre la materia con independencia de la didáctica⁵¹.

Las gramáticas llamadas humanistas se caracterizan por el afán de registrar el mayor número posible de datos sin pretensiones de hallar una explicación global a toda la variedad de fenómenos. A partir de Escalígero de modo expreso, aunque se insinúa ya en Linacro, se intenta reconducir la investigación gramatical hacia la sistematización

⁵¹ Caso de Linacro, Ramus y el Brocense. Es práctica, por otra parte, tradicional. Recordemos las dos *artes*, *minor* y *maior*, de Donato.

del material y hacia la búsqueda de las causas que den coherencia a los fenómenos.

El único criterio de aproximación que acepta la primera generación de gramáticos, al menos en teoría, es el *usus* de la literatura clásica, aunque de hecho se valen en gran medida de la autoridad de los príncipes de la gramática romana. Este criterio no satisface ya en el s. XVI, época en que, sin rechazar esta base experimental —y en ello se distancian de la especulación medieval—, añaden el requisito de la razón (lógica) como criterio científico que dé rigor a su investigación.

Como consecuencia de sus planteamientos, las primeras gramáticas resultan en términos generales adaptaciones de los tratados tradicionales a las nuevas circunstancias —naturalmente con un perfeccionamiento considerable del método pedagógico y con la experiencia adquirida tras varios siglos de literatura gramatical. La incorporación de la lógica (*ratio*) a la investigación gramatical, así como una mayor madurez en el conocimiento de las obras literarias (*usus*) autoriza a los últimos investigadores a situarse ante la tradición de una forma crítica. Desde esta posición discuten ya abiertamente la autoridad de cualquiera de sus antecesores, sean éstos del pasado o del presente.

De este modo, dos caminos que habían discurrido paralelos a lo largo de la historia de la lingüística llegan a encontrarse en el s. XVI. La segunda generación de gramáticos, gracias a la superación de la fase meramente descriptiva en la que no interesan los principios reguladores (*vera principia*), lleva a cabo, pues, la fusión de dos fuerzas que hasta entonces habían permanecido en tensión: la de la filología y la de la lógica.

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Terence O. TUNBERG

A STUDY OF *CLAUSULAE* IN SELECTED WORKS
BY LORENZO VALLA

Studies of quantitative rhythm in humanistic prose have rarely been attempted¹. Eduard Norden writes about Latin prose rhythm as though its history ends with the *cursus* of the Middle Ages, and most modern scholars have adopted this view². L. Laurand, in his fundamental study of Ciceronian style, claims to have examined two works by the sixteenth-century Ciceronian Étienne Dolet, which, according to Laurand, lack any trace of Ciceronian clausular rhythms. Laurand, however, cites no statistics, or indeed any methodology, to support this conclusion³. Sabbadini, on the other hand, thought he could detect metrical *clausulae* in the works of Paolo Cortesi, though, like Laurand, he provides no figures or other evidence to prove his results⁴.

¹ Thanks to Gudrun Lindholm's substantial analysis of accentual *cursus* in late medieval Italy, we have some indications that the humanists of the early fifteenth century abandoned the medieval system of accentual prose rhythm, at least as far as their epistolary literature is concerned, and that by the latter part of that century the same development had occurred in papal letters. Although Lindholm does not employ the sort of statistical methodologies which have become customary in studies of prose rhythm during the last two decades, there is no reason to doubt the validity of her conclusions, at least in general terms. See G. Lindholm, *Studien zum mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus. Seine Entwicklung und sein Abklingen in der Briefliteratur Italiens*. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 10 (Stockholm, 1963). On Latin prose rhythm in the first stages of humanism, see also G. Martellotti, "Clausole e ritmi nella prosa narrativa del Petrarca," in *Scritti petrarcheschi*, edd. M. Feo and S. Rizzo (Padova, 1983), pp. 207-219 (originally printed in *Studi petrarcheschi* 4 [1951], pp. 35-46). For the possibility of accentual prose rhythm in a much later author, see Jesús Luque Moreno, "¿Clausulas rítmicas en la prosa de Gines de Sepúlveda?" *Habis* 14 (1983), pp. 85-105. See also the very brief remarks of O. Kluge, "Die neulateinische Kunstprosa," *Glotta* 23 (1935), pp. 46-47.

² See E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Vol. 2. (Darmstadt, 1958³), pp. 950-952.

³ See L. Laurand, *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron avec une esquisse de l'histoire du "cursus"* (Paris, 1907), pp. 176-177.

⁴ See R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino* (Catania, 1896), reprinted in *Guariniana*, ed. M. Sancipriano (Torino, 1964), p. 75.

G. Puccioni's study of metrical *clausulae* in the *Coniurationis commentarium* by Poliziano is much more systematic than the works of Laurand and Sabbadini, because Puccioni lists the relative frequency of different metrical endings⁵.

In my own analysis of the Latinity of Lorenzo Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*, I included a brief discussion of metrical *clausulae*⁶. To my knowledge, this was the first attempt to apply one of the statistical methodologies which have been used in recent studies of Latin prose rhythm to the analysis of quantitative *clausulae* in a humanistic text. I concluded that Valla does indeed prefer a group of metrical endings which resemble the *clausulae* of Cicero. But the total proportion of favored endings in the *Gesta* is considerably lower than what we would find in any Ciceronian speech⁷. In fact, without the application of statistics, it would hardly be apparent that Valla prefers any *clausulae*. The statistics show decisively, however, that Valla has a strong dislike for the hexameter ending, or *clausula heroa*. In short, the results of my first investigation of Valla's prose rhythm indicated the desirability of a more extensive analysis of *clausulae* in Valla's works. The present study, therefore, is devoted entirely to this question, and in the following pages we will examine Valla's use of *clausulae* in a variety of texts. To begin with, however, a brief historical consideration of certain aspects of the theory and practice of Latin prose rhythm will be worthwhile.

The Background

It has long been known that Cicero and other ancient Latin prose authors liked to end their periods with rhythmical units, known as *clausulae*. Although Cicero does not terminate every sentence with one of the favored *clausulae*, their frequency is very high, much higher than it would be if their occurrence were merely fortuitous⁸. The *clausulae* of

⁵ See G. Puccioni, "Il numerus nel *Coniurationis commentarium* del Poliziano", *Maia* 23 (1971), pp. 338-346.

⁶ T. Tunberg, "The Latinity of Lorenzo Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 37 (1988), pp. 57-61.

⁷ The fact that Ciceronian rhythms appear in a historical text like the *Gesta* is interesting, since Valla's most obvious models for historical style, Sallust, and Livy, do not employ Ciceronian *clausulae*. Either Valla did not notice this aspect of ancient historical prose, or at least he made no attempt to imitate it.

⁸ The first systematic studies of Cicero's *clausulae* were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among them are G. Wüst, *De clausula rhetorica quae praecepit Cicero quatenus in orationibus secutus sit* (Argentorati, 1881); E. Müller, *De*

ancient prose, like the metrical schemes of ancient verse, are based on the quantity of syllables. After the third century A. D., however, a gradual change took place in the nature of prose rhythm. Accent as well as quantity, became a factor in determining clausular patterns⁹. The final result of this evolution was the medieval Latin prose rhythm called *cursus* by modern scholars, which was based solely on accent.

Because the *cursus* is one of the more obvious features of medieval Latin, it is not surprising that the humanists of the early Renaissance rejected it as barbarous¹⁰. The humanists not only observed the absence of the medieval *cursus* in ancient prose, they also learned that ancient prose rhythm was based on the quantity of syllables rather than accent. In part they could have discovered this essential fact from careful reading of ancient grammatical texts which contain precepts pertaining to metrical *clausulae*¹¹. Some of these passages, such as Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5. 519-522, had been in circulation throughout the Middle Ages¹². But the rediscovery

numero Ciceroniano (Berlin 1886); Th. Zielinski, *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden: Grundzüge einer oratorischen Rhythmik*. Philologus, Supplementband 9 (Leipzig, 1904). The quantitative *clausulae* employed by prose authors of the early empire are more or less based on the Ciceronian patterns, although Sallust, and especially Livy, employed clausular rhythms which diverge sharply from the Ciceronian model. For prose rhythm in the Roman historians, see especially H. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm of Sallust and Livy*. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 24 (Stockholm, 1979).

⁹ This transitional period in the history of Latin prose rhythm has received careful study in recent years. See especially S. M. Oberhelman and R. G. Hall, "A New Statistical Analysis of Accentual Prose Rhythms in Imperial Latin authors", *Classical Philology* 79.2 (1984), pp. 114-130, and, by the same authors, "Meter in Accentual Clausulae of Late Imperial Latin Prose", *Classical Philology* 80.3 (1985), pp. 214-227; "Rhythmical Clausulae in the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes*", *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 35 (1985), pp. 201-214; "Internal Clausulae in Late Latin Prose as Evidence for the Displacement of Metre by Word-Stress", *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 36 (1986), pp. 508-526. See also by S. M. Oberhelman, "The *Cursus* in Late Imperial Latin Prose: A Reconsideration of Methodology", *Classical Philology* 83.2 (1988), pp. 136-149; "The History and Development of the *Cursus Mixtus* in Latin Literature", *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 38 (1988), pp. 228-242, and especially *Rhetoric and Homiletics in Fourth-Century Christian Literature*. American Classical Studies 26 (Atlanta, Georgia, 1991).

¹⁰ For some instances, see P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies* (Oxford, 1921), p. 4, note 1.

¹¹ Although the ancient sources are remarkably inconsistent regarding the desired rhythms and other aspects of the doctrine of *numerus*, they all speak of quantity, never accent. This important observation is made by H. Bornecque, *Les clausules métriques Latines*. Travaux et mémoires de l'université de Lille, nouvelle série, I. Droit, Lettres, fasc. 6 (Lille, 1907), pp. 176-177.

¹² Indeed, they had not passed entirely unnoticed. Bene of Florence, the early thirteenth-century teacher of *Ars dictaminis*, notes in his *Candelabrum* that Cicero's prose rhythm is based on metrical feet, adding "unde sine lege metrica stilum eius non potest aliquis observare". See *Bene Florentini Candelabrum*, ed. G. C. Alessio. Thesaurus mundi

of the complete text of Quintilian in 1416 and Cicero's *Orator* in 1421 gave the humanists two major ancient theoretical discussions of *clausulae* which had not been previously available¹³. During the first half of the fifteenth century, the Italian humanists assimilated these texts, and several of them attempted to digest and reformulate the ancient doctrines of *numerus*. Sabbadini, at the end of the last century, and Laurand, in the early twentieth century, studied some of these humanistic precepts on clausular rhythm¹⁴.

Laurand claims that the earliest complete and accurate account of Cicero's *clausulae* is to be found in *De electione et oratoria collocatione verborum* by J. Strebaeus, which was printed in Paris in 1529¹⁵. Nevertheless, he also quotes several earlier works which deal with *clausulae*. Among these are verses attributed by Sabbadini to Guarino, and a passage excerpted from Pomponius Laetus' commentary on Cicero's *Pro Ligario*¹⁶. Neither of these fifteenth-century texts provides an accurate description of Ciceronian *clausulae*, though they give some rules which correspond to ancient practice. In fact, both accounts merely adapt and summarize the doctrine already found in ancient

23 (Padova, 1983), 1.15.14-16, p. 19. In his *Summa dictaminis*, Bene attempts to analyze Ciceronian *clausulae* at greater length. In part, however, his discussion is merely a repetition of the passage from Martianus Capella cited above. For this portion of the *Summa*, see Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. 4506, f. 8^r.

¹³ Probably the most important passages are Cicero, *Orator* 191-226, and Quintilian, *Institutio* 9.4. For a convenient collection of ancient testimonia concerning prose rhythm, see A. C. Clark, *Fontes prosae numerosae* (Oxford, 1909). The main texts are analyzed by Bornecque (note 11), pp. 3-186.

¹⁴ See Sabbadini, *La scuola* (note 4), pp. 72-75, and L. Laurand, *Études* (note 3), pp. 213-217.

¹⁵ Laurand (*ibid.*) cites an edition printed in 1539. Treatises on Latin style, like the one by Strebaeus, were published in very large numbers during the sixteenth century. Another example is Coelius Secundus Curio (Celio Curione), *De omni artificio disserendi atque tractandi summa* (Basileae, 1547), which also contains a discussion of prose rhythm, (see "De numeris oratoriis", pp. 21-22). We can also find allusions to metrical prose rhythm in less technical works by sixteenth-century humanists. A well-known instance occurs in Erasmus' dialogue *Ciceronianus* (1528), where we meet Nosoponus, the fanatical Ciceronian, who has compiled immense lists not only of Ciceronian words and phrases, but also "pedes omnes quibus Cicero vel incipit vel finit commata, cola, periodos...": see *Dialogus Ciceronianus*, ed. P. Mesnard, in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, 1-2 (Amsterdam, 1971), p. 609, lines 30-33. One could cite other sixteenth-century examples, but our present investigation is primarily concerned with an earlier period.

¹⁶ See Laurand, *ibid.* The passage attributed to Guarino is reprinted by Laurand from Sabbadini, *La scuola* (note 4), documento 44, pp. 229-230.

theoretical works¹⁷. The truth is that no account based solely on the ancient theoretical works could provide a coherent and correct description of the actual rhythms of classical prose. The precepts of the ancient rhetoricians, including Cicero and Quintilian, are frequently inconsistent and often diverge widely from what we now know to be the practice of ancient writers¹⁸. As early as the first decades of the fifteenth century this lack of consensus among the ancient sources on *numerus* was noted by Gasparino Barzizza (ca. 1360-1430) in his *De compositione*. In this treatise, Barzizza chose to base his discussion of *clausulae* on Martianus Capella, but this was primarily because Martianus' account seemed to him to be easier to understand than the others¹⁹.

These early humanistic attempts to digest the confusing ancient theories of *numerus* are significant. They are another manifestation of an intensive effort on the part of the early humanists to learn and imitate all the techniques of elegant classical prose. The question of imitation — a primary objective in many humanistic treatises on style — should lead us to wonder whether any of the humanists tried to employ quantitative rhythms in their own prose.

¹⁷ For Laurand, the fact that Pomponius Laetus cites an example from Sallust (an author, as we have noted, who did not use Ciceronian rhythms) is proof of Laetus' failure to understand Cicero's prose rhythm. However, Laurand did not notice that this portion of Laetus' discussion is completely derived from Martianus Capella, and that Laetus has merely incorporated Martianus' example from Sallust's lost *Histories*: "tota autem insula modica et cultibus variis est" (compare *De nuptiis* 5. 520 with Laetus' text quoted by Laurand, p. 215). The citation from Sallust has little to do with Laetus' own powers of observation — or lack of them. It is easy to underestimate the highly derivative nature of many early humanistic commentaries, which often differ little from their medieval predecessors. This is also an interesting example of the rather surprising persistence of Martianus as an authority in the humanistic era.

¹⁸ There is considerable difference between Cicero's theory and practice. For example, at *Orator* 217, Cicero seems to approve the hexameter ending (— ◡ ◡ — ◡), though in practice he carefully avoids it. Quintilian's views are not always in accord with those of Cicero, and his precepts are also frequently at odds with the actual practice of the authors. Much the same can be said of the later grammarians. Many scholars have noted these discrepancies, but perhaps the best account is still Bornecque, *Les clausules* (note 11), pp. 3-186, esp. pp. 169-176. Laurand, *Études* (note 3), pp. 152-171, attempts to reconcile some of the discrepancies between Cicero's doctrine and his metrical practice. Similarly, W. Schmid, *Ueber die klassische Theorie und Praxis des antiken Prosarhythmus* (Wiesbaden, 1959), sets out to account for ancient practice in the light of ancient theory. Few, however, would deny that serious difficulties remain, despite attempts to explain the inconsistencies.

¹⁹ See Gasparini *Barzizii Bergomatis et Guiniforti filii opera*, ed. J. A. Furietti (Romae, 1723), pp. 11-14. Sabbadini, *La scuola* (note 4), pp. 72-73, argues that Barzizza, at the time *De compositione* was written (before 1423), had access to the complete text of Quintilian, but not Cicero's *Orator*.

For this sort of investigation, the question as to whether the humanists correctly understood the rhythmical practice of the ancient authors is really of secondary importance. After all, it is quite possible that the humanists used metrical rhythms which were not always identical to those used by classical writers. Such "humanistic" prose rhythms could have been based on the rules in one or another of the ancient theoretical texts. Errors or misunderstandings of ancient theory or practice might have played a role in the creation of "humanistic" *clausulae*. It is of course also possible that some humanists read Cicero and other classical authors with sufficient care to detect clausular rhythms, and they in turn employed these same *clausulae* in their own writings.

A good candidate for this last possibility is Lorenzo Valla²⁰. Casual remarks in Valla's writings show that he was a close observer of metrical endings in the prose works of other authors. He criticizes both Bartolomeo Facio and Poggio Bracciolini for ending sentences with a hexameter²¹. A rather amusing observation concerning *clausulae* occurs in Valla's famous treatise on the Donation of Constantine. Commenting on the following excerpt "... eligentes nobis ipsum principem apostolorum vel eius vicarios firmos apud Deum esse patronos (XIII. 41)", Valla remarks sarcastically: "Elegit sibi illos Constantinus non 'patronos' sed 'esse patronos': interposuit illud 'esse', ut numerum redderet concinniores. Honesta ratio barbare loqui, ut venustius currat oratio, si modo quid in tanta scabritia venustum esse potest"²². If we assume that Valla treats the first syllable of "patronos" as long (it could be either short or long, since it precedes a mute and liquid), "esse

²⁰ It is worth noting that Leonardo Bruni, in a letter written to Valla in 1433 concerning Valla's *De voluptate*, remarks: "Stilus ipse tuus mihi laudabilis probandusque videtur: habet enim et copiam et varietatem, et intersunt tropi quidam ac figurae veterum dignitatem et amoenitatem quamdam prae se ferentes, complexioque ipsa et ambitus plerisque in locis numerose cadit." See Leonardo Bruni Aretino, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe*, ed. H. Baron. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, I. Band (Leipzig, Berlin, 1928), p. 142.

²¹ See *Laurentii Valle antidotum in Facium*, ed. M. Regoliosi. Thesaurus mundi (Padova, 1981), 2.4.50, p. 160, and Lorenzo Valla, *Antidotum primum*, ed. A. Wesseling. Respublica literaria neerlandica (Amsterdam, 1978), 3.15, p. 184. Valla's condemnation of the *clausula heroa* could reflect the precepts of his favorite author, Quintilian (cf. *Institutio* 9.4.75 and 9.4.102), as well as observation of the practice of Cicero (see above, note 18).

²² Lorenzo Valla, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, ed. W. Setz. Monumenta Germaniae historica: Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 10 (Weimar, 1976), p. 106. In the quotation above, I have very slightly modified the editor's punctuation.

patronos" will give the cretic-trochee (or cretic-spondee), one of Cicero's preferred endings.

Such observations show that Valla was aware of at least some aspects of the system of metrical *clausulae* which prevailed in formal classical prose. The following analysis of several works by Valla will give some indications as to whether his awareness of clausular patterns had any effect on the way Valla himself wrote Latin prose.

A Revised Statistical Methodology

Two main statistical methodologies have been applied to the study of Latin prose rhythm. The method of internal comparison, devised by Tore Janson for the analysis of medieval *cursus*, was adapted for quantitative *clausulae* by his student Hans Aili²³. This researcher using this approach employs a simple statistical formula to calculate the expected frequency of the various endings. The expected frequency for each rhythmical pattern (e) is then compared to the observed frequency (o) for the same pattern. Finally another statistical formula, which is commonly known as a X^2 test, is applied to the entire sample to determine whether the deviations between o and e are statistically significant. The adjective "internal" is quite appropriate for this method, since, in theory at least, it requires no outside standard of comparison — just the data in the text being studied.

But the internal method is not without drawbacks. The researcher who relies on it may find that only moderate differences between o and e will appear as statistically significant, and that the use of clausular rhythms in the text being studied cannot be fully assessed without recourse to some other standard of comparison after all. In certain rare cases the internal method may even obscure the fact that some *clausulae* are favored²⁴.

The other method can conveniently be called external comparison. An investigator who employs the basic form of this method attempts to discover which endings are preferred in the text being studied by simply comparing the frequencies of all possible *clausulae* with the frequencies

²³ For descriptions of the method, see T. Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century*. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 20 (Stockholm, 1975), pp. 19-22 and H. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), pp. 32-39.

²⁴ For some potential shortcomings of the internal method, see Janson, *Prose Rhythm* (note 23), pp. 26-28.

of the same combinations of syllables in some other text or texts whose author (or authors) are presumed not to have employed prose rhythm²⁵. This method will work reasonably well if the author of the text being studied strongly desires or strongly avoids certain endings. But this kind of simple comparison fails in marginal cases. This is because no two supposedly neutral samples are the same, even if their authors did not seek rhythm²⁶. So, when using this method, we will need more than one text for comparison, and we can only arrive at a range of values — instead of a single value — for each ending in the “neutral” texts. But a range of comparative values for each ending could easily obscure the fact that an ending is only slightly favored in the text we are studying, and therefore prevent us from detecting the full variety of our author’s preferred endings.

Within the last decade, however, S. M. Oberhelman and R. G. Hall have added some statistical refinements to the external method. In their studies of accentual *cursus* and *cursus mixtus* in late antique authors, they employed confidence intervals (to be described ahead in more detail) and X^2 tests to verify the significance of the differences between the texts they were studying and the texts chosen for comparison. Moreover, instead of comparing the frequencies of every possible *clausula* considered individually, they compared the collective proportions of certain standard rhythmical endings, as found in various texts. This type of external comparison has been refined even further by S. M. Oberhelman in his most recent studies²⁷.

In my study of *clausulae* in Valla’s *Gesta Ferdinandi*, I employed the internal method, since it seemed to require fewer assumptions and therefore to be more appropriate for the investigation of prose rhythm in humanistic writers²⁸. The internal method still appears to be the

²⁵ The first to make systematic use of the comparative method was A.W. De Groot. I list here only his major works: *A Handbook of Antique Prose Rhythm* (Groningen, 1919); *De numero oratorio latino commentatio* (Groningen, 1919); *Der antike Prosarhythmus* (Groningen, 1921); and *La prose métrique des anciens*. Collections d’études latines publiée par la Société des études latines sous la direction de J. Marouzeau, 2 (Paris, 1926). For some other pertinent studies, see H. D. Broadhead, *Latin Prose Rhythm: a New Method of Investigation* (Cambridge, 1922) and M. Novotný, “État actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose latine”, *Eus Supplementa* 5 (Lwów, 1929).

²⁶ See the criticisms of Janson (note 23), pp. 15-19, and Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), pp. 21-25.

²⁷ See the works cited above, note 9. I am grateful to Professor Oberhelman for allowing me to read some of his unpublished material on the subject in the spring of 1989.

²⁸ The technique employed by Hall and Oberhelman of comparing the proportions of standard *cursus* endings in different texts may be reasonable for the study of authors who

most convenient and sensitive methodology for gaining an initial indication as to which *clausulae*, if any, seem to be favored in the texts we are investigating. Yet, as we shall see in the following pages, elements of the external method can also be used to help verify these initial indications²⁹. However, before we demonstrate how the methods of internal and external comparison can be combined, we should define our criteria for creating a sample of metrical endings³⁰.

1). Only *clausulae* at the ends of sentences are counted, since the location of minor pauses is often the result of subjective editorial judgement. Some of the Valla editions used in our study follow renaissance practice by placing question marks after a strong pause within a sentence. The endings before such question marks are not counted.

2). *Clausulae* containing textual variants within the last eight syllables are not counted, unless the variants produce the same scansion.

3). If a *clausula* is part of a verbatim quotation from another text, if it is part of a list of proper names, or if it includes vernacular words, it is excluded.

4). If the sentence is less than eight syllables long, the ending is not counted.

5). When the metrical quantity of the final six syllables is uncertain for any reason, the *clausula* is not counted. For example, syllable quantity is considered uncertain when a short vowel is followed by a mute and a liquid in the interior of a word, or in the case of final -o in first person singular verbs and in the nominative of third declension nouns³¹.

wrote in late Antiquity, since previous scholarship has more or less established which endings are canonical or standard for this period. But in the case of humanistic Latin, we do not yet know which endings, if any, were standard.

²⁹ I would like to thank Professor Richard Kryscio of the Department of Statistics at the University of Kentucky for his generous assistance on several occasions during my research for this article. Any errors in the computations are entirely due to me.

³⁰ The same criteria are applied to the works by Valla as well as the 'control' texts selected for comparison. There is only one exception, which is explained below in note 31.

³¹ I have essentially used the same criteria as H. Aili for deciding when the quantity of a syllable is uncertain. See Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), pp. 48-49. Aili also excludes *clausulae* containing syllables which can be contracted. I have followed this principle when counting endings in ancient authors, but not in my samples taken from the most recent editions of Valla's works, since modern editors have made it a practice to reproduce Valla's orthography, which is known from his autographs.

6). When vowel collision occurs within the final six syllables requiring either elision or aphaeresis, the *clausula* is not counted³².

The first of the works by Valla to be considered here is *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*. This famous attack on the Donation of Constantine, which was completed in 1440, is written in the style of a formal oration³³. My sample from *De... donatione* comprises every sentence-ending in the text which meets the six criteria for inclusion, as outlined above. This comes to 426 *clausulae*.

Table 1 shows the 32 possible combinations of long and short syllables in the final six syllabic positions of any sentence³⁴. The column headed o (= observed frequency) shows how many of each of the 32 possible *clausulae* actually occurred in the total sample of 426 from *De... donatione*. The column headed e (= expected frequency) tells us the probability for each of the 32 *clausulae* to occur in the same sample. How do we arrive at these figures for "expected frequency"?

It is a basic statistical principle that the probability for a series of independent events to occur together is the product of their probabilities to occur separately. Thus the probability for any *clausula* to occur is the product of the probabilities for its individual syllables to occur separately. To establish these probabilities, we first need to know the total number of long and short syllables in our sample at each of the six positions. Table 1A shows these total numbers for every position except the final one, since the final syllable of any *clausula* is always *anceps*³⁵. For example, Table 1A tells us that in our sample of 426 *clausulae* there were a total of 182 short syllables and 244 long syllables in the sixth position (from the end of the sentence).

³² A recent study suggests that aphaeresis was probably not distinguished from elision in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. See J. Leonhardt, "Die Aphärese bei 'est' in der Geschichte der lateinischen Metrik", *Glotta* 66 (1988), pp. 244-252.

³³ For the date, see the introduction to the edition by W. Setz (note 22), pp. 10-11, and *Laurentii Valle epistole*, edd. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi. *Thesaurus Mundi* (Padova, 1984), p. 176. See also, *ibid.*, note 2, for observations pertaining to the textual tradition of *De... donatione*.

³⁴ Tables such as this, which display the frequency of all possible combinations of syllables, were devised by De Groot: see *De numero* (note 25), pp. 36-38 and *A Handbook* (note 25), pp. 17-18. De Groot's table includes eight final syllables, which amounts to 128 possible combinations. This large number is unnecessarily cumbersome for our present purposes. My tables for the final six syllables, amounting to 32 possible combinations, are similar to those employed by H. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), pp. 136-144.

³⁵ Hence the total number of either longs or shorts in this position will be 426, the same as the number of *clausulae*.

For our purposes, the probability for longs and shorts in each position can be conveniently expressed as decimal proportions of 1000. Therefore, expressing 182/426 as a proportion of 1000, we find a probability of .427 for a short syllable in the sixth position in our sample. Similarly we can treat 244/426 as a probability of .573 for a long syllable in the same position³⁶. The probabilities for long and short syllables in each position, expressed as decimal fractions of 1000, are shown in Table 1B.

Now that we have these figures, keeping in mind the principle that the probability for a series of independent events to occur together is the product of their probabilities to occur separately, we can compute the probability for any six-syllable *clausula* to occur in our sample. For example, we can discover the probability for no. 28 — — ◡ — — ◡ (the cretic-trochee preceded by a long syllable) to occur in our sample by multiplying the probabilities for its separate components: .573 x .587 x .408 x .622 x .632 x 1. The result is .054. To convert this proportion to the expected frequency for *clausula* no. 28 in our sample, we multiply it by the total number of the sample: .054 x 426, which gives the result 23. By contrast, the observed frequency for the same ending is 38. The expected frequency for each of the 32 possible endings is calculated the same way, and the results can be seen in Table 1. Expected frequency can be precisely defined as follows: "the frequency we should expect each *clausula* to have if the author of the text investigated used long and short syllables in the exact proportions found at each syllabic position, but did not seek or avoid any given *combination* of syllables"³⁷.

We may suspect the author preferred those endings whose observed frequency is markedly higher than the expected frequency. But we can test whether the deviations between o and e in our sample are statistically significant by employing a simple equation commonly known as a X^2 test. For each of the 32 endings, we subtract e from o, square the result and divide this number by e, according to the formula $(o - e)^2/e$. The results of this calculation for each of the 32 endings are added up to give the X^2 value for the whole sample, which in the case of the sample from *De... donatione* amounts to 116. This number means little

³⁶ For a more complete discussion of probability than I can provide here, see any introductory book on statistics, for example T. H. Wonnacott and R. T. Wonnacott, *Introductory Statistics for Business and Economics* (New York, 1990⁴).

³⁷ I quote the definition given by H. Aili in *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), p. 39.

until we compare it to another number called the critical value. The critical values, which vary according to the number of pairs of o and e, are pre-calculated and are set out on tables in basic statistics manuals³⁸. If the X^2 value is close to the critical value, we must conclude that the differences between o and e which we observed in the sample are not significant in statistical terms. But the X^2 value of 116 for the sample from *De... donatione* is considerably higher than the critical value of 38.9, which we find for 32 pairs of o and e³⁹. In other words, the X^2 value of 116 indicates that the differences between o and e in our sample from *De... donatione* are significant and are not likely to be due to chance⁴⁰.

Having established this, we can turn our attention again to Table 1, which indicates that in *De... donatione*, Valla favors no. 6 – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ (cretic-tribrach), no. 12 – – ◡ – ◡ ◡ (palimbacchius and cretic), no. 14 – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ (dicretic), no. 18 – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ (paeon-spondee, the famous 'esse videatur'), nos. 23 and 24 – – ◡ – ◡ (ditrochee preceded by a long syllable), nos. 27 and 28 – ◡ – – ◡ (cretic-trochee or cretic-spondee). The hexameter ending, nos. 19 and 20, seems to be markedly disliked.

With the exception of no. 6, the preferred *clausulae* in *De... donatione* are very similar to those which are characteristic of Cicero's speeches. The apparent preference for these endings is not likely to be due to chance, as shown by the X^2 test. Moreover, Valla's own remarks pertaining to metrical *clausulae*, as quoted above, lend support to the

³⁸ For X^2 tests and critical values, see Wonnacott, *Introductory Statistics* (note 36), pp. 549-561; 778.

³⁹ In statistical terms, these pairs of o and e are called "degrees of freedom". The tables in Wonnacott, *Introductory Statistics* (note 36) show that 38.9 is actually the critical value for 26 (instead of 32) degrees of freedom. This is because we deduct one degree of freedom for each syllabic position except the last, plus one which stands for the whole number of metrical combinations, as explained by H. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), p. 38, n.14.

⁴⁰ It is worth while to note a few other points about these calculations for the benefit of readers who may be interested in the details of the statistical procedure. First, the critical value of 38.9 is based on a significance level of .05, which is the 95 per cent confidence level normally used in this sort of test. Secondly, in X^2 computations of the sort described above, all cases where the expected frequency is less than 5 are generally collected into one category. I have not followed this procedure in the sample shown in Table 1, where only the first *clausula* has an expected frequency of less than 5 (in this case 4.264), and the difference between the X^2 value and the critical value would be significant whether the calculations were based on 25 or 26 degrees of freedom. Finally, we should keep in mind that the X^2 value in a test like this is to some extent affected by the size of the sample. For our rather small sample of 426 *clausulae*, a X^2 value of 116 is quite substantial.

supposition that the patterns detected here by statistical means reflect a real preference for certain quantitative rhythms on the part of the author⁴¹. Yet we should scrutinize these results more closely, because in *De... donatione* the proportion of favored endings taken as a whole comes to only .481 — not very large when compared with a strongly rhythmical author like Cicero⁴². In other words, approximately half the sentences in *De... donatione* end in one of the favored patterns. If Valla deliberately sought rhythm, his use of it was very moderate.

In situations like this, the use of external comparison has something to offer. We can gain a better perspective on Valla's practice by considering what the total proportion of these same endings would be in the works of an author who did not care for prose rhythm. A reasonable choice for a standard of comparison might be the *Annales* of Tacitus, since recent statistical studies indicate that this work lacks any significant clausular rhythm⁴³. With this in mind, I collected a sample of 1000 *clausulae* from Books II, IV, and VI of Tacitus' *Annales*⁴⁴.

Yet this sample from Tacitus taken by itself has only a limited value. As we have observed already, the clausular patterns in any two texts will always be somewhat different, even if their authors sought no rhythm⁴⁵. To be realistic, we should not try to find a single value which will serve as a standard of comparison, but rather a range of values. To this end, I collected two other samples, each consisting of 1000 *clausulae*, from the Latin translations of the Greek fathers in *Patrologia Graeca*, one from Gregory of Nyssa (in PG 46), and another from the works of Origen (in PG 11)⁴⁶. My choice of these texts was motivated

⁴¹ See above, notes 21 and 22.

⁴² The total percentage of favored endings in Cicero varies in different works. See, for example, H. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), p. 97, where the total percentage of favored endings in Sallust is compared with the percentages of favored endings in two of Cicero's speeches. Percentages of favored endings in Cicero are also given by De Groot (note 25). For a convenient summary table, see L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 156.

⁴³ H. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), pp. 128-129, applying the internal method of comparison to a sample from Books XI and XII of the *Annales*, demonstrates Tacitus' indifference to prose rhythm.

⁴⁴ My Tacitus sample comes from *Cornelii Taciti annalium ab excessu Divi Augusti libri*, ed. C. D. Fisher. *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxonii, 1906).

⁴⁵ See above, note 26.

⁴⁶ My method was to count all the *clausulae* in every second or third column of the Latin translation, excluding every ending which did not meet the six criteria for inclusion outlined above, until I reached a total of 1000 *clausulae* for each sample.

by the fact that selections from the Latin translations in the *Patrologia Graeca* series have been employed in earlier comparative studies of prose rhythm. On the basis of these studies, it appears that the PG translations sampled for analysis show no significant partiality for the Ciceronian *clausulae*⁴⁷.

The results of external comparison between the collective proportion of favored endings in *De... donatione*, and the collective proportions of the same endings in each of the comparative texts are shown in Table 1C. The comparative values are as follows: Origen .315, Gregory of Nyssa .320, Tacitus .337. It is at once obvious that these three values are not only much lower than the proportion in *De... donatione*, they are also quite similar to each other⁴⁸. To be conservative and to maximize the value of our comparison, let us choose only the highest of our three values (i. e. the nearest to the proportion we found in the sample from *De... donatione*), which is the proportion of .337 in Tacitus' *Annales*. We can make this comparative value even more conservative by employing a confidence interval, i. e., by establishing the upper and lower limits between which all samples from the same material are likely to fall. The 99 percent confidence interval for a sample size 1000 is the percentage of the sample plus or minus four percent⁴⁹. For our Tacitus sample, therefore, the 99 percent confidence interval is .297 — .377. We can define our 99 percent confidence interval as follows: there is only a one percent chance that if our sample included all the sentence endings in Tacitus' *Annales*, the proportion of the *clausulae* in question would not fall between .297 and .377. Let us use only the upper limit of this confidence interval as the basis for our comparison with the proportion of favored endings in *De... donatione*.

To check our impression that the proportion of favored endings in *De... donatione* is significantly greater than the proportion of the same endings in the comparative samples, we can employ another X^2 test.

⁴⁷ See the works cited in note 25. The PG translations are usually dated to the nineteenth century in modern studies of prose rhythm. I have made no attempt to verify the correctness of this dating.

⁴⁸ It has been noticed before that the proportions of Ciceronian endings in Tacitus' *Annales* are comparable to those in the PG Latin translations: see Wilkinson, *Golden Latin* (note 42), p. 140. This observation is repeatedly confirmed in the present study.

⁴⁹ For the computation of confidence intervals, see Wonnacott and Wonnacott, *Introductory Statistics* (note 36), pp. 253-286. For the sake of simplicity, I have merely employed the pre-calculated 99 percent confidence intervals for samples from 50-3000 in A. G. Johnson, *Social Statistics Without Tears* (New York, 1977), p. 211. This table includes the sample size 1000.

This X^2 test, however, will be somewhat different from the one employed earlier in which 32 pairs of o and e (one for each metrical ending) were involved. Here we are only comparing two entities. The proportion of .481 for the favored endings in *De... donatione* is treated as observed frequency. The expected frequency is the adjusted upper limit of .377 for the proportions of the same endings in the comparative samples. As noted above, the critical values for X^2 tests vary according to the number of pairs compared. In this test we find a critical value of 3.84, since only one pair is involved⁵⁰. The X^2 value, however, comes to 12.42. We can assume, therefore, with only a very small margin of error, that there is a significant difference between the proportion in *De...donatione* and the upper level of the confidence interval for the comparative value. In other words, we have established a strong likelihood that Lorenzo Valla preferred certain metrical *clausulae* in *De... donatione*, even though this preference is rather moderate.

As Table 1D shows, a simple comparison with the control texts will suffice to support our finding, based on the internal test, that Valla avoids the hexameter ending (*clausulae* 19 and 20). In *De... donatione*, the hexameter ending amounts to .94 percent of the sample. The corresponding percentages for Tacitus, Gregory and Origen are 5.8, 6.6, and 4.8 respectively.

A brief summary of this methodology will be helpful. The internal method of comparison will provide an initial indication as to which, if any, *clausulae* seem to be favored in the text under investigation. For the sake of comparison, we employ samples selected from several different works whose authors can be presumed not to have used prose rhythm⁵¹. In each of the control samples we establish the proportion of the same *clausulae* which appear to be favored in the text we are investigating. Of the three control samples, we select the one with the highest proportion, and use the upper level of the 99 percent confidence interval for this sample as our comparative value. If the proportion of

⁵⁰ 3.84 is the value based on one degree of freedom, and a significance level of .05 (for these terms, see notes 39 and 40). With just one degree of freedom, we must add a continuity correction of $-.5$ to the X^2 formula. The modified formula reads $(|o - e| - .5)^2/e$. This calculation, moreover, must take account of the fact one proportion (o) represents a sample size 426, and the other (e) represents a sample size 1000. For the procedure, see, for example, Wonnacott, *Introductory Statistics* (note 36), pp. 549-561.

⁵¹ As noted above (see notes 43 and 47), in the case of our comparative samples, the *Annales* of Tacitus show virtually no tendency towards clausular rhythm, and the PG translations seem to be indifferent at least to the Ciceronian rhythms.

avored *clausulae* in the text under investigation is significantly higher than this comparative value, we have established a strong probability that the author used prose rhythm.

Undoubtedly a researcher with a professional training in statistics could devise a much more sophisticated method. But the technique employed here should suffice for the rather modest purpose of this investigation⁵². We merely wish to know whether or not Lorenzo Valla can be presumed to have deliberately used metrical prose rhythm, and, if so, which *clausulae*, in general terms, did he prefer.

Prose Rhythm in Some Other Works by Valla

An examination of Valla's *clausulae* in some other texts will shed further light on the results we have obtained from *De... donatione*. Valla was the author of several dialogues, and *De professione religiosorum*, completed in 1441, will serve as a representative of this genre⁵³. *De professione*, like *De... donatione*, is not a large work, and so again our sample of *clausulae* comprises every sentence-ending in the text which meets the criteria for inclusion. The metrical distribution of the 397 *clausulae* in this sample can be seen in Table 2.

The *Antidotum in Facium*, which was finished in 1447, is an excellent example of Valla's polemics against other humanists⁵⁴. But, like other treatises of its type, the *Antidotum in Facium* is rather difficult to use in a study of prose rhythm. Much of the work consists of quotations from other texts, along with Valla's detailed discussions of philological and grammatical points. Such passages can give us no clear idea of Valla's clausular rhythms. There are, however, some portions of this substantial work where we find relatively uninterrupted segments of narrative prose. From several of these sections, I have collected a sample consisting of 379 *clausulae*. Table 3 shows their metrical distribution⁵⁵.

We are fortunate to have the recent edition of Valla's letters by

⁵² There are a number of questions pertaining to rhythm which have not been raised in the present study, such as word-division in *clausulae*, the possibility of initial rhythm, etc.

⁵³ *Laurentii Valle de professione religiosorum*, ed. M. Cortesi. Thesaurus mundi (Padova, 1986). For the date of this work, see M. Cortesi's introduction, XXVI-XXXV.

⁵⁴ For the date, see *Laurentii Valle antidotum in Facium* (Note 21), introduction XLVI-LIII.

⁵⁵ The sample is drawn from Book One, 1-4; Book Four, 1-3 and 10-14. Even here we find fairly frequent quotations, or reported conversations (e.g. 1. 2. 5 ff.). Such passages are excluded from the sample.

O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi, which is provided with an exhaustive introduction and commentary documenting all phases of Valla's career and literary activity⁵⁶. The *Epistole* include some rather formal compositions as well as casual notes. The letters belonging to the latter category, though they are often fascinating texts for the student of humanistic Latin, have been excluded as far as possible from the group of letters used for our study, on the assumption that such hasty messages are less likely to be representative of an author's use of prose rhythm⁵⁷. The total sample from the *Epistole* amounts to 276 *clausulae*, whose relative frequencies, expected and observed, are shown in Table 4.

In each text we observe the same general distribution of favored *clausulae*⁵⁸. These preferred endings are very similar to those already noted in *De... donatione*. In every sample surveyed so far, Valla clearly favors the cretic-spondee (nos. 27-28), the ditrochee preceded by a long syllable (nos. 23-24), the paeon-spondee (no. 18), and the dicretic (no. 14). Almost equally consistent is Valla's liking for the cretic-tribrach (no. 6), which is favored in every text except our sample from the *Antidotum in Facium*, where we detect a slight preference for the related form, no. 5 ◡◡-◡◡◡, in which an anapaest instead of a cretic precedes the tribrach. Another small difference is apparent in *De professione*, in which the favored forms of the ditrochee include no. 22 -◡-◡-◡, as well as nos. 23-24. In addition to these basic *clausulae*, Valla shows a predilection for various forms of the final cretic. In the *Epistole*, nos. 10 and 15 -◡◡-◡◡◡ / ◡- - -◡◡ (cretic preceded by a dactyl or a bacchius) are among the preferred endings. In *De professione*, we note a higher than expected frequency for nos. 11 and 13 ◡-

⁵⁶ For the edition see *Laurentii Valle epistole* (note 33). Another letter by Valla has been edited by M. Davies, "Lettere inedite tra Valla e Perotti", in *Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici, Parma 18-19 ottobre 1984*, Edd. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi. Medioevo e Umanesimo 59. (Padova, 1986), pp. 94-106. For the same letters by Valla and Perotti, see also M. Davies, "Niccolò Perotti and Lorenzo Valla: Four New Letters", *Rinascimento* 2^a ser. 24 (1984), pp. 125-147. The letter edited by Davies is not included in the sample from the *Epistole* used in the present study.

⁵⁷ Admittedly, this process of selection can sometimes involve rather subjective judgements. The letters included in our sample are nos. 5, 9, 13, 18, 20-25, 27, 38, 39, 48, 51, 53, 56, in the edition by Besomi/Regoliosi. They range in date from 1434 to 1456.

⁵⁸ The X^2 values for the internal comparison of o and e for the 32 possible endings in the samples from *De professione*, *Antidotum in Facium*, and the *Epistole* are 97, 94, and 66 respectively.

— — — — / — — — — — — (cretic preceded by an amphibrach or an anapaest). Nos. 10 and 13 appear again among the favored forms in the *Antidotum in Facium*. We have already noted Valla's partiality for no. 12 — — — — — — (palimbacchius and cretic) in *De... donatione*. Finally, in all of the texts examined, Valla seems to shun the hexameter ending. This aversion to the *clausula heroa* is confirmed by the internal method as well as external comparison (compare the o and e values for *clausulae* 19 and 20 in Tables 2, 3, and 4 with Tables 2D, 3D, and 4D)⁵⁹.

Not only do the preferred *clausulae* in all the texts examined conform to the same basic pattern, their total proportions are also very similar: .531 in *De professione*; .496 and .477 in our samples from the *Epistole* and *Antidotum in Facium* (and these figures accord very well with .481 in *De... donatione*). In every case (as shown in Tables 2C, 3C, and 4C), these values are compared with the total proportions of the same endings in each of the three control texts. The upper limit of the 99 percent confidence interval of the highest proportion in the control texts forms the basis for statistical comparison. In each instance, the resulting X^2 value is significantly higher than the critical value of 3.84. We therefore conclude, with only a small chance of error, that Valla prefers certain metrical *clausulae* in all of these works⁶⁰.

We can now briefly consider Table 5, which shows the distribution of 176 *clausulae* from all six prefaces to Valla's philological masterpiece *Elegantiarum linguae latinae libri sex*⁶¹. Our sample is made up of every sentence in the prefaces which meets the criteria for inclusion. This

⁵⁹ The only surprising feature in all of the samples is the apparent preference for no. 2 — — — — — — in our selection from the *Antidotum in Facium*. This is not a favored ending in any other text by Valla which I have examined for rhythm (including the *Gesta Ferdinandi*). I suspect, therefore, that this is merely an anomaly resulting from peculiarities of vocabulary rather than a reflection of Valla's rhythmical preferences.

⁶⁰ If we were to exclude no. 2 from the favored endings in the *Antidotum in Facium* (see note 59 above), the total proportion of favored endings in this sample would come to .454 instead of .477 (see Table 3C). The total proportions of the same endings in the control texts would be .327 (Tacitus), .326 (Gregory), .320 (Origen). The 99% confidence interval of the .327 proportion is .287 — .367. If we compare the upper limit of this confidence interval with the revised proportion of .454 from the *Antidotum in Facium*, the X^2 value comes to 8.34, which is still significantly higher than the critical value of 3.84.

⁶¹ It is now believed that the *Elegantiae* went through three major revisions, and was not finished until 1449. See M. Regoliosi, "Le due redazioni delle 'Raudensiane note' e le 'Elegantiae' del Valla", in *Vestigia: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, edd. R. Avesani, M. Ferrari, T. Foffano, G. Frasso, A. Sottili, vol. 2 (Roma, 1984), pp. 559-573, and *Laurentii Valle epistole* (note 32), pp. 22, 316-320, 322-325, 330-332, 357.

group of *clausulae* is the only one discussed here which does not come from a modern critical edition⁶².

Without critical editions which give the reader a textual history of the work and a complete apparatus of variants, together with annotations on sources and parallels, no truly accurate study of prose rhythm is possible. Consequently, our sample from the *Elegantiae* prefaces cannot provide definitive results, nor is it intended to do so. It has been included primarily for the sake of comparison with what we have learned so far. Valla clearly considered the *Elegantiae* his greatest achievement⁶³. The care which he lavished on the *Elegantiae* is evident in its six prefaces, which are probably the finest pieces of rhetorical prose he ever wrote. If we were to search for a work in which Valla might have made a more pronounced use of prose rhythm than what we have observed in the other texts studied here, the prefaces to the *Elegantiae* would be an obvious choice.

But even in the prefaces to the *Elegantiae*, Valla's rhythm seems to follow much the same pattern we have detected elsewhere. The same basic *clausulae* seem to be favored: nos. 27-28, nos. 23-24, no. 18, nos. 13-15. Perhaps slightly untypical is the apparent liking for no. 22, and the lack of preference for the cretic-tribrach (no. 6). But each of these peculiarities has appeared once in the other texts studied here: no. 22 in *De professione*, and the indifference to no. 6 in the *Antidotum in Facium*. The total proportion of all the favored *clausulae* in the *Elegantiae* prefaces is .558, slightly higher than what we have found so far, but not significantly so. The appearance of a critical edition of these prefaces would almost certainly cause us to revise some of these figures. But it is very doubtful that it would give us reason to modify our impression that Valla's rhythmical practice in this text is essentially the same as what we have seen elsewhere.

Some General Conclusions

Valla's prose rhythm, both in terms of the metrical configuration and the total proportion of the favored *clausulae*, is remarkably consistent

⁶² No critical edition of the *Elegantiae* yet exists. For this sample, I have used the Basel edition of 1540 by H. Petrus reprinted in L. Valla, *Opera omnia*, ed. E. Garin, vol. I (Torino, 1962), pp. 3-235. For punctuation of periods, I have also consulted the version of the prefaces in *Prosatori latini del quattrocento*, ed. E. Garin (Milano, 1952), pp. 595-630.

and seems to be quite unaffected by differences of genre. Indeed, we can add historiography to the list of genres surveyed, since the clausular pattern of the *Gesta Ferdinandi* is virtually the same as the one we have observed in the present study⁶⁴. Valla's preferred *clausulae* may be described as Ciceronian, since nos. 13-16 (especially 14), no. 18, nos. 23-24 (perhaps sometimes also 21-22), nos. 27-28 are the favored endings in Cicero's speeches⁶⁵. But Valla, who was an eclectic and not a Ciceronian in matters of style, probably learned clausular rhythm from studying authors of the Empire as much as from Cicero⁶⁶. This could explain Valla's liking for no. 6, the cretic-tribrach. Although this *clausula* may be slightly favored in some of Cicero's early speeches, it is not a typical rhythm in the works of Cicero's mature period. It is, however, a preferred ending in the prose of the Imperial Age⁶⁷.

As we have remarked more than once, although Valla desires certain metrical rhythms, their total proportion in any given work is rather modest if compared to a strongly rhythmical author like Cicero⁶⁸. On average, about half of Valla's sentences terminate in one of the preferred metrical patterns. Of course, Valla's works were written for a learned audience and not, like Cicero's speeches, designed to sway an unruly audience in the forum. Yet we cannot help wondering why Valla made such a tempered use of rhythm. What effect, if any, was it designed to have?

There is one potential explanation which we have so far ignored. It has been demonstrated that the works of medieval Latin authors, who employ accentual prose rhythm, also contain a high percentage of some metrical *clausulae*, although this was clearly not intended by the writers⁶⁹. Is it possible that in Valla's case the observed preference for

⁶³ See the observations of D. Marsh, "Grammar, Method and Polemic in Lorenzo Valla's 'Elegantiae'", *Rinascimento* 19 (1979), p. 93.

⁶⁴ In the *Gesta*, Valla prefers the following *clausulae*: no. 6, nos. 13-14, nos. 17-18, nos. 23-24, nos. 27-28. See, Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 6), pp. 57-61.

⁶⁵ Cicero's typical *clausulae* are described in many scholarly works. For a convenient account, see Wilkinson, *Golden Latin* (note 42), pp. 156-160. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), pp. 51-68, applies the method of internal comparison to *Pro Murena* and *Pro Sulla*.

⁶⁶ On Valla's partiality for Silver Latin, see Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 6), pp. 33-41.

⁶⁷ On the cretic-tribrach, see Aili, *The Prose Rhythm* (note 8), p. 66, and Oberhelman/Hall, "Meter", *Classical Philology* (1985) (see note 9), p. 216, n. 12. In other respects, a somewhat simplified version of Cicero's rhythm prevailed in Silver Latin prose. On the prose rhythm of Imperial authors, see De Groot, *La prose métrique* (note 25), pp. 52-55.

⁶⁸ See above, note 42.

⁶⁹ This is because accentually structured *clausulae* often coincide with cretic or trochaic metrical rhythms. See the discussion by Oberhelman/Hall, "Meter", *Classical*

metrical *clausulae* is in fact a preference for accentual rhythms? One might be tempted to dismiss this notion without further consideration, in view of the humanists' rejection of the accentual *cursus*, and Valla's own remarks concerning metrical *clausulae* in other writers. Yet we should remember that in other respects Valla's language often has much in common with medieval Latin, in spite of his attempts to recover the usage of the ancients⁷⁰. Moreover, some grammarians apparently continued to teach the *cursus* well into the fifteenth century⁷¹. It is not impossible therefore that Valla might have unconsciously continued to favor accentual rhythms learned in his youth.

Fortunately it is quite easy to test this hypothesis with statistics. To determine the simple presence or absence of accentual *cursus*, external comparison alone will suffice. We have a secure basis for comparison in classical Latin texts which were written long before the accentual *cursus* system had evolved. Furthermore, the "canonical" *cursus* endings for the late Middle Ages are well known, although they have sometimes been misunderstood by modern scholars⁷².

For control samples, I have selected 1000 sentence-endings from Books VI-VIII of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Atticum*, and another 1000 from Cicero's *Philippicae orationes* I, III, and IV⁷³. The total proportion of *cursus* endings in the sample from the *Epistulae ad Atticum* is .426. The

Philology (1985) (see note 9), pp. 217-220 and Oberhelman, *Rhetoric and Homiletics* (note 9), p. 12; pp. 16-18

⁷⁰ See Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 6), pp. 41-51.

⁷¹ As noted by Sabbadini, *La scuola* (note 4), p. 74, n. 4.

⁷² For a discussion of the standard *cursus* endings according to the rules of the Italian *dictatores*, see Appendix.

⁷³ T. Janson, *Prose Rhythm* (note 23), pp. 19-22, analyses a sample from the *Epistulae ad Atticum* with the method of internal comparison to demonstrate Cicero's indifference to accentual rhythms. For the *Epistulae ad Atticum*, I have used *M. Tulli Ciceronis epistulae ad Atticum*, vol. I, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Stuttgart, 1988). My selections from the *Philippicae orationes* come from *M. Tulli Ciceronis in M. Antonium orationes Philippicae XIV*, ed. P. Fedeli. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1982). When establishing the proportions of *cursus* endings in the control texts, I have employed the following guidelines for excluding sentence-endings from consideration: 1) Greek works in Greek characters are excluded, but Latinizations of Greek works are included. 2) If a *clausula* contains a word that can be contracted (e.g. *fili*), or a word whose accentual position is uncertain for any reason, the *clausula* is not counted. 3) Very short sentences (eight syllables or less) are excluded. 4) *Clausulae* containing words that might be spelled separately or together (e.g. *non nulli, quo modo*) are excluded. 5) Formulaic greetings, salutations, etc., are excluded. 6) *Clausulae* containing disputed textual readings are excluded.

99 percent confidence interval for this proportion (with the sample size 1000) is .386 — .466. The accentual *cursus* forms in our selection of sentence-endings from the *Philippicae orationes* amount to a proportion of .461, which has a 99 percent confidence interval of .421 — .501. By comparison, the proportions of *cursus* endings in our samples from Valla's *Epistole*, *De professione religiosorum*, *Antidotum in Facium*, and *De... donatione* are .433, .454, .482, and .503 respectively. It is immediately obvious that the first three of these values fall easily within the limits of the confidence interval of the proportion in the *Philippicae orationes*. The value for *De... donatione* is slightly high, but there is no significant difference between this figure and the upper limit of the confidence interval for the *Philippicae orationes*⁷⁴. No further calculations are needed to demonstrate the overwhelming probability that Valla was indifferent to accentual *cursus*⁷⁵.

Thus we return to the question which prompted our digression about accentual rhythm. If Valla preferred certain metrical *clausulae*, why did he use them so moderately? We are not yet in a position to give definite answers. It is worth noting that a restrained use of *clausulae* is not inconsistent with the precepts of Valla's favorite author Quintilian⁷⁶. Similar views are expressed by renaissance theorists, such as Barzizza⁷⁷. We must also remember that Valla read all his classical authors in manuscript sources. It is possible that in such texts he would not have

⁷⁴ Even if we were to compare the proportion of .503 in *De... donatione* with the upper limit of the 99 percent confidence interval for the *Epistulae ad Atticum*, we would find no significant difference. The X^2 value when $o = .503$ (sample size 426) and $e = .466$ (sample size 1000) is 1.440, while the critical value is 3.84.

⁷⁵ Our proof that Valla made no use of accentual *cursus* would be even stronger if we had used for comparison the proportion of .579 for accentual *cursus* endings in the *Philippicae orationes* established by Oberhelman/Hall, "A New Statistical Analysis", *Classical Philology* (1984) (see note 9), p. 120. It was necessary, however, to establish our own value for the *Philippicae orationes*, since Oberhelman/Hall include such cadences as *óculos cládat* and *tránsgrédiántur* as forms of the *planus*. Even the more conservative guidelines for sampling defined by Oberhelman in *Rhetoric and Homiletics* (note 9), pp. 13-14, allow the inclusion of *clausulae* which end in five-syllable words. Though perhaps legitimate for late Antiquity, such forms would not pass as *cursus* endings for the Italian *dictatores* of the late Middle Ages, whose standards we have applied in our comparison. For further discussion, see Appendix.

⁷⁶ Quintilian seems to favor a certain moderation, and warns against excessive use of the same rhythms. See *Institutio* 9. 4. 142-144.

⁷⁷ See Gasparini Barzizii... *opera* (note 19), p. 14.

detected all the *clausulae* we now read in modern editions of ancient prose writers⁷⁸.

We could learn much more by studying the actual practice of other humanistic authors. Was Valla's use of *clausulae* typical? Answering a question like this, of course, would require a much larger study than the one attempted here. The present investigation will have accomplished its purpose if it has established some reasonably secure conclusions about metrical *clausulae* in the works of one of the most important humanistic authors of the fifteenth century, and it has provided some indications as to how statistical methodologies can be applied to the study of prose rhythm in humanistic Latin.

Appendix

W. Meyer was apparently the first to formulate a method of describing the accentual *cursus* of late Antiquity and the Middle Ages which has become fundamental in a great deal of modern scholarship on the subject⁷⁹. According to Meyer, the crucial factor is the number of syllables between the last two accents and after the last accent. In Meyer's hypothesis, the length of the last word is unimportant. Therefore, the *planus* (e.g. *opus perégit*) can be described as two unaccented syllables between the two last accents, and one syllable after the last accent⁸⁰. This may be a valid way of describing *cursus* as practiced in late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages. But it has serious shortcomings if applied to the *cursus* of the later medieval period.

Although there was some variety of practice in the early Middle Ages, the style of the Italian *dictatores* (which had evolved in the twelfth century) prevailed all over Europe after the mid-thirteenth century. The manuals written by thirteenth and fourteenth-century professors of *dictamen* are generally quite consistent with each other as

⁷⁸ My thanks to Professor IJsewijn for this observation.

⁷⁹ W. Meyer, "Die rhythmische lateinische Prosa", in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1905), pp. 236-286.

⁸⁰ Meyer's system of describing *cursus* is followed by Lindholm, *Studien* (note 1), and it appears in some of the most essential sources on late Latin, such as M. Leumann, J. B. Hofmann, A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, II.2.2 (München, 1965), pp. 716-718. T. Janson, in *Prose Rhythm* (note 23), pp. 11-12, expresses reservations about this method of describing *cursus*, but later in the same work suggests that some technique like Meyer's may have been employed by teachers in the early Middle Ages to describe accentual rhythms (*ibid.*, p. 52).

far as *cursus* is concerned, and their precepts accord quite well with the observed rhythmical practice of late medieval writers. It is clear that for the *dictatores* of the later Middle Ages, the syllabic length of the final word of the *clausula* was an essential consideration⁸¹.

The so-called "Roman" *cursus* consisted of three (or four) simple cadences. There are two types of *tardus*, either a trisyllabic proparoxytone preceded by a word with the same stress, e. g. *insidias pónere*, or a quadrisyllabic proparoxytone preceded by a paroxytone, e. g. *habére commúnitas*. The *planus* consists of a trisyllabic paroxytone preceded by a word with same stress, e. g. *serváre quaesíta*, and the *velox* is formed by a quadrisyllabic paroxytone preceded by a proparoxytone, e. g. *ómnium amicórum*. The Roman rules also permit *consillabatio*, or substitution of the final word by two or three brief words containing the same total number of syllables. It is clear that medieval authors took little account of enclisis and proclisis in creating compound endings. Hence a *planus* can be *terrárum quas-régunt*, and a *velox* might be *grátiam et-vigórem*⁸². But it is important to realise that in the late medieval *cursus*, the final word must consist of three or four syllables, or the equivalent through *consillabatio*.

Therefore, a number of forms which would be permitted by Meyer's hypothesis are in fact excluded by the late medieval *dictatores*. For example, *vineam nóstram* will not pass as a *planus*, nor will one-word

⁸¹ This is stated clearly in numerous medieval treatises. See, for example, *Bene Florentini Candelabrum* (note 12), 1.20, pp. 25-27 (and G. C. Alessio's notes on pp. 309-310 for parallels); Guido Faba, *Summa dictaminis*, ed. A. Gaudenzi, in *Il propugnatore* 23, n.s. 3 (1890), pp. 347-348. The standard "Roman" *cursus* of the later Middle Ages is correctly described in several modern scholarly accounts. One of the clearest treatments can be found in A. Dalzell, "The *Forma dictandi* Attributed to Albert of Morra and Related Texts", *Medieval Studies* 39 (1977), pp. 440-465. For some other good modern descriptions, see C. B. Faulhaber, "The *Summa dictaminis* of Guido Faba", in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1978), pp. 86-111; N. Denholm-Young, "The *Cursus* in England", in *Collected Papers of N. Denholm-Young* (Cardiff, 1969), pp. 42-73; P. Rajna, "Per il 'cursus' medievale e per Dante", *Studi di filologia italiana* 3 (1932), pp. 7-86. For some collections of late medieval theoretical texts on *cursus*, see F. di Capua, *Fonti ed esempi per lo studio dello 'stilus curiae romanae' medioevale* (Roma, 1941), and C. Thurot, "Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Age", in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 22.2 (1868: repr. Frankfurt, 1964), pp. 180-185.

⁸² For a thorough discussion, see Janson, *Prose Rhythm* (note 23), pp. 28-32. The correct stress distribution for the preceding word can also be created from a number of smaller units. For example, *nóvit-et impugnáre* can form a *velox*.

forms like *éxaudiétis* or *tránscrediántur*, and a cadence like *vestrárum largitióne* does not make a *velox*⁸³.

In my own count of *cursus* endings, both in the texts by Valla, and in the control texts used for comparison, I have adhered strictly to the "Roman" rules as outlined above. This also means that I have not included the so-called *trispondaicus* (*ésse valebámus*) as a *cursus* ending. Some early medieval authors certainly favored this rhythm, but its use declines in the late twelfth century, and it finds no place in the Italian system of *cursus* which prevailed after the mid-thirteenth century⁸⁴.

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⁸³ These and other anomalous forms are in fact very rare in practice, as admitted by Lindholm, *Studien* (note 1), pp. 39-54. See also Janson's observations on Lindholm's tables in *Prose Rhythm* (note 23), p. 12. Although Janson's study does not extend into the thirteenth century, it demonstrates that the four basic cadences, and their equivalents through *consillabatio*, become virtually standard in Italy by the late twelfth century. See *Prose Rhythm* (note 23), pp. 60-79.

⁸⁴ For the *trispondaicus*, see Janson, *Prose Rhythm* (note 23), pp. 74, 104.

Table 1: *De... donatione* (426 clausulae)

			1A. Syllable Distribution					
	e	o	Position	6	5	4	3	2
1 ◡◡◡◡◡◡	4	2	short	182	176	174	161	157
2 -◡◡◡◡◡	6	3	long	244	250	252	265	269
3 ◡-◡◡◡◡	6	5	totals	426	426	426	426	426
4 --◡◡◡◡	8	6						
5 ◡◡-◡◡◡	6	5	1B. Proportions/Probabilities					
6 -◡◡◡◡◡	8	11*	Position	6	5	4	3	2
7 ◡--◡◡◡	9	7	short	.427	.413	.408	.378	.368
8 ---◡◡◡	12	10	long	.573	.587	.592	.622	.632
9 ◡◡◡-◡◡	7	8	1C. Comparative values					
10 -◡◡◡◡	9	7	Total proportion of favored endings					
11 ◡-◡◡◡◡	10	8	204/426 = .481					
12 --◡◡◡◡	13	16*	Total proportion of same endings in					
13 ◡◡-◡◡◡	10	9	Tacitus = .337					
14 -◡◡◡◡	14	31*	Gregory of Nyssa = .320					
15 ◡---◡◡	14	9	Origen = .315					
16 ----◡◡	19	20	99% confidence interval of proportion					
17 ◡◡◡◡-◡	7	8	in Tacitus = .297-.377. For the					
18 -◡◡◡◡	10	19*	difference between the proportion					
19 ◡-◡◡◡◡	10	2	.481 in <i>De... donatione</i> and .377					
20 --◡◡◡◡	14	2	(sample size 1000), $X^2 = 12.42$.					
21 ◡◡-◡◡◡	11	9	Critical value = 3.84.					
22 -◡◡◡◡	14	15	1D. Nos.19 and 20: Relative					
23 ◡--◡◡◡	15	33*	Percentages					
24 ---◡◡◡	20	24*	<i>De.. donatione</i> .94%					
25 ◡◡◡--◡	12	8	Tacitus 5.8%					
26 -◡◡--◡	16	10	Gregory of Nyssa 6.6%					
27 ◡-◡--◡	17	32*	Origen 4.8%					
28 --◡--◡	23	38*						
29 ◡◡---◡	17	17						
30 -◡---◡	23	14						
31 ◡-----◡	25	20						
32 -----◡	33	18						

Table 2: *De professione religiosorum* (397 clausulae)

			2A. Syllable Distribution				
		e o	Position 6	5	4	3	2
1	u u u u u u	4 0	short	138	178	150	150 178
2	- u u u u u	7 4	long	259	219	247	247 219
3	u - u u u u	5 0	totals	397	397	397	397 397
4	- - u u u u	9 4					
5	u u - u u u	7 5	2B. Proportions/Probabilities				
6	- u - u u u	12 15*	Position 6	5	4	3	2
7	u - - u u u	8 7	short	.348	.448	.378	.378 .448
8	- - - u u u	15 17?	long	.652	.552	.622	.622 .552
9	u u u - u u	7 5					
10	- u u - u u	12 10	2C. Comparative values				
11	u - u - u u	8 15*	Total proportion of favored endings				
12	- - u - u u	15 16	211/397 = .531				
13	u u - - u u	11 15*	Total proportion of same endings in				
14	- u - - u u	20 37*	Gregory of Nyssa = .372				
15	u - - - u u	13 11	Origen = .370				
16	- - - - u u	25 17	Tacitus = .367				
17	u u u u - u	5 4	99% confidence interval of proportion				
18	- u u u - u	9 14*	in Gregory = .332-.412. For the				
19	u - u u - u	6 2	difference between the proportion				
20	- - u u - u	11 5	.531 in <i>De professione</i> and .412				
21	u u - u - u	8 5	(sample size 1000), $X^2 = 15.94$.				
22	- u - u - u	15 23*	Critical value = 3.84.				
23	u - - u - u	10 17*					
24	- - - u - u	19 28*	2D. Nos.19 and 20: Relative				
25	u u u - - u	8 8	Percentages				
26	- u u - - u	15 16	<i>De professione</i> 1.76%				
27	u - u - - u	10 21*	Tacitus 5.8%				
28	- - u - - u	19 26*	Gregory of Nyssa 6.6%				
29	u u - - - u	13 10	Origen 4.8%				
30	- u - - - u	25 7					
31	u - - - - u	16 13					
32	- - - - - u	31 20					

Table 3: *Antidotum in Facium* (379 clausulae)

			3A. Syllable Distribution						
	e	o	Position 6	5	4	3	2		
1	u u u u u u	4	2	short	147	175	121	147	164
2	- u u u u u	6	9*	long	232	204	258	232	215
3	u - u u u u	5	2	totals	379	379	379	379	379
4	- - u u u u	7	8						
5	u u - u u u	8	10*	3B. Proportions/Probabilities					
6	- u - u u u	12	13	Position 6	5	4	3	2	
7	u - - u u u	9	8	short	.388	.461	.319	.388	.433
8	- - - u u u	14	9	long	.612	.539	.681	.612	.567
9	u u u - u u	6	3	3C. Comparative values					
10	- u u - u u	9	12*	Total proportion of favored endings					
11	u - u - u u	7	1	181/379 = .477					
12	- - u - u u	11	6	Total proportion of same endings in					
13	u u - - u u	12	14*	Gregory of Nyssa = .333					
14	- u - - u u	19	33*	Tacitus = .332					
15	u - - - u u	14	15	Origen = .329					
16	- - - - u u	23	19	99% confidence interval of proportion					
17	u u u u - u	5	3	in Gregory = .293-.373. For the					
18	- u u u - u	7	13*	difference between the proportion					
19	u - u u - u	6	2	.477 in <i>Antidotum in Facium</i> and .373					
20	- - u u - u	9	2	(sample size 1000), $X^2 = 12.07$.					
21	u u - u - u	10	11	Critical value = 3.84.					
22	- u u - - u	16	15	3D. Nos. 19 and 20: Relative					
23	u - - u - u	12	14*	Percentages					
24	- - - u - u	19	26*	<i>Antidotum in Facium</i> 1.055%					
25	u u u - - u	7	5	Tacitus 5.8%					
26	- u u - - u	12	3	Gregory of Nyssa 6.6%					
27	u - u - - u	9	25*	Origen 4.8%					
28	- - u - - u	14	25*						
29	u u - - - u	16	13						
30	- u - - - u	25	16						
31	u - - - - u	19	19						
32	- - - - - u	29	23						

Table 4: *Epistole* (276 *clausulae*)

			4A. Syllable Distribution				
	e	o	Position 6	5	4	3	2
1 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	3	1	short	109	122	99	116 128
2 - ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	5	3	long	167	154	177	160 148
3 ◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	4	1	totals	276	276	276	276 276
4 - - ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	6	3					
5 ◡ ◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡	6	4	4B. Proportions/Probabilities				
6 - ◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡	9	15*	Position 6	5	4	3	2
7 ◡ - - ◡ ◡ ◡	8	8	short	.395	.442	.358	.420 .464
8 - - - ◡ ◡ ◡	12	12	long	.605	.558	.642	.580 .536
9 ◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡ ◡	5	3	4C. Comparative values				
10 - ◡ ◡ - ◡ ◡	7	10*	Total proportion of favored endings				
11 ◡ - ◡ - ◡ ◡	6	5	137/276 = .496				
12 - - ◡ - ◡ ◡	9	9	Total proportion of same endings in				
13 ◡ ◡ - - ◡ ◡	8	5	Origen = .350				
14 - ◡ - - ◡ ◡	13	23*	Gregory of Nyssa = .348				
15 ◡ - - - ◡ ◡	10	13*	Tacitus = .347				
16 - - - - ◡ ◡	16	13	99% confidence interval of proportion				
17 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡	5	3	in Origen = .310-.390. For the				
18 - ◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡	6	13*	difference between the proportion				
19 ◡ - ◡ ◡ - ◡	5	5	.496 in the <i>Epistole</i> and .390				
20 - - ◡ ◡ - ◡	7	1	(sample size 1000), $X^2 = 9.66$.				
21 ◡ ◡ - ◡ - ◡	7	5	Critical value = 3.84.				
22 - ◡ - ◡ - ◡	11	7	4D. Nos. 19 and 20: Relative				
23 ◡ - - ◡ - ◡	9	14*	Percentages				
24 - - - ◡ - ◡	13	21*	<i>Epistole</i> 2.17%				
25 ◡ ◡ ◡ - - ◡	5	6	Tacitus 5.8%				
26 - ◡ ◡ - - ◡	8	8	Gregory of Nyssa 6.6%				
27 ◡ - ◡ - - ◡	7	15*	Origen 4.8%				
28 - - ◡ - - ◡	10	13*					
29 ◡ ◡ - - - ◡	10	11					
30 - ◡ - - - ◡	15	5					
31 ◡ - - - - ◡	12	10					
32 - - - - - ◡	18	11					

Table 5: Prefaces to *Elegantiae* (176 clausulae)

			5A. Syllable Distribution					
		e o	Position	6	5	4	3	2
1	υ υ υ υ υ υ	2 0	short	56	88	65	65	72
2	- υ υ υ υ υ	3 1	long	120	88	111	111	104
3	υ - υ υ υ υ	2 1	totals	176	176	176	176	176
4	- - υ υ υ υ	3 4						
5	υ υ - υ υ υ	3 2	5B. Proportions/Probabilities					
6	- υ - υ υ υ	6 6	Position	6	5	4	3	2
7	υ - - υ υ υ	3 1	short	.318	.500	.369	.369	.409
8	- - - υ υ υ	6 3	long	.682	.500	.631	.631	.591
9	υ υ υ - υ υ	3 3	5C. Comparative values					
10	- υ υ - υ υ	6 5	Total proportion of favored endings					
11	υ - υ - υ υ	3 2	98/176 = .558					
12	- - υ - υ υ	6 2	Total proportion of same endings in					
13	υ υ - - υ υ	4 6*	Gregory of Nyssa = .371					
14	- υ - - υ υ	10 21*	Origen = .364					
15	υ - - - υ υ	4 7*	Tacitus = .342					
16	- - - - υ υ	10 8	99% confidence interval of proportion					
17	υ υ υ υ - υ	2 1	in Gregory = .331-.411. For the					
18	- υ υ υ - υ	5 10*	difference between the proportion					
19	υ - υ υ - υ	2 1	.558 in the prefaces and .411					
20	- - υ υ - υ	5 2	(sample size 1000), $X^2 = 12.37$.					
21	υ υ - υ - υ	4 1	Critical value = 3.84.					
22	- υ - υ - υ	8 10*						
23	υ - - υ - υ	4 9*	5D. Nos. 19 and 20: Relative					
24	- - - υ - υ	8 13*	Percentages					
25	υ υ υ - - υ	4 4	Prefaces to <i>Elegantiae</i> 1.7%					
26	- υ υ - - υ	8 7	Tacitus 5.8%					
27	υ - υ - - υ	4 10*	Gregory of Nyssa 6.6%					
28	- - υ - - υ	8 12*	Origen 4.8%					
29	υ υ - - - υ	6 1						
30	- υ - - - υ	14 10						
31	υ - - - - υ	6 7						
32	- - - - - υ	14 6						

Monique MUND-DOPCHIE

L'«ULTIMA THULE» DE PYTHÉAS DANS LES TEXTES
DE LA RENAISSANCE ET DU XVII^e SIÈCLE.
LA RÉALITÉ ET LE RÊVE

«Le nom de Thulé est devenu ce que des auteurs allemands ont ingénieusement appelé un *Sammelname*, c'est-à-dire un nom sur lequel sont venues se rassembler les données [...] concernant tout ce qui, en direction du Nord, pouvait être atteint ou observé de plus éloigné, autrement dit, d'ultime»¹. Il s'est joint également «à la foule des appellations disparues pour commencer, dans le royaume des allégories, une carrière qui n'était point encore terminée quand s'est ouvert notre XX^e siècle»².

Si Roger Dion est en mesure aujourd'hui de résumer avec des formules aussi heureuses la fortune de l'*Ultima Thule*, il le doit assurément à Pythéas de Marseille, le plus célèbre explorateur antique des mers septentrionales, et à la survie paradoxale de celui-ci. Car l'homme fut tellement renommé chez les Anciens que ceux-ci ne nous ont guère transmis de renseignements à son sujet: pourquoi auraient-ils cité et commenté des œuvres que tous connaissaient? Mais les bribes d'informations qu'ils ont laissé filtrer à leur corps défendant sur le voyage et en particulier sur l'étape de Thulé se sont révélées propres à stimuler la curiosité et l'imagination³.

D'une part, en effet, elles envisageaient dans l'escale la plus reculée de Pythéas, une région proche du cercle polaire, avec des courtes nuits

¹ D'après R. Dion, *Aspects politiques de la géographie antique* (Paris, 1976), p. 211.

² R. Dion, «Géographie historique de la France», *Annales du Collège de France*, (1966), 455-478 (p. 477).

³ Un corpus exhaustif des témoignages sur Pythéas et/ou sur Thulé a ainsi été constitué e.a. par A. Holder, *Alt-Keltischer Sprachschatz*, II (Leipzig, 1904; reprod. Graz, 1962), s.v. *Thule*, *Thyle*; G. Broche, *Pythéas le Massaliote, découvreur de l'extrême occident et du nord de l'Europe (IV^e siècle av. J.C.)* (Paris, 1935); H.J. Mette, *Pytheas von Massalia* (Berlin, 1952). Il a suscité au XX^e siècle une littérature abondante, comme en témoigne la rubrique «Pytheas Massaliensis», dans *L'Année Philologique*.

d'été et des longues nuits d'hiver, un pays avenant, où l'on pouvait cultiver le blé et élever des abeilles, et dont l'environnement — une mer figée (πεπηγυῖα θάλασσα, *mare concretum*) et un poumon marin — échappait aux repères des navigateurs grecs et défait leurs savoirs empiriques. D'autre part, elles ne permettaient pas de localiser l'endroit avec précision, certaines descriptions pouvant s'appliquer à n'importe quelle contrée nordique, d'autres étant franchement contradictoires. En effet, tandis que Tacite, Claudien, Rutilius Namatianus et d'autres encore plaçaient Thulé dans le voisinage immédiat du Nord de l'Écosse, Procope de Césarée l'identifiait, au contraire, à la Scandinavie⁴. Quant à Ptolémée, il s'était contenté de situer Thulé à 63 degrés de latitude septentrionale, à mi-chemin entre le parallèle de Rhodes et le pôle Nord⁵, et de la transformer en une «île-borne qui fermait l'oecumène au septentrion»⁶. Il s'agissait, en l'occurrence, d'une construction théorique, qui attendait, pour être confirmée, de nouvelles explorations. Aussi la raison commandait-elle de résoudre le problème en localisant de façon définitive Thulé sur une carte, tandis que l'imagination poussait à «se plonger dans le vague infini» d'une terre mal connue⁷. On notera donc sans surprise que cette double attitude fut celle des écrivains et des savants tout au long de l'histoire de l'Occident, depuis l'effondrement du monde antique, comme je l'ai démontré partiellement ailleurs⁸.

Je me propose ici de cerner et d'analyser les opinions que les lettrés de la Renaissance et du XVII^e siècle se sont forgées à propos de l'escale prestigieuse de Pythéas : bénéficiant peu à peu des Grandes Découvertes, ont-ils accordé à ce lointain prédécesseur des Frobisher et des Davis la considération que son exploit méritait ? Mon enquête s'appuiera sur un corpus de textes aussi représentatif que possible. Le constituer fut

⁴ Voisinage immédiat de la Grande-Bretagne : Tacite, *Agricola*, 10, 5-6 ; Claudien, *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii*, 31-32 ; Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, I, 499-500. Scandinavie : Procope de Césarée, *Histoire des guerres*, VI, 15.

⁵ G. Aujac, «L'île de Thulé, de Pythéas à Ptolémée», in *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, éd. M. Pelletier (Paris, 1989), 181-190.

⁶ F. Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1991), p. 162. •

⁷ Expression empruntée à Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les révolutions*, 1^{ère} partie, chap. XXXV, texte établi, présenté et annoté par M. Regard, Bibl. de la Pléiade (Paris, 1978), p. 165.

⁸ Cf. M. Mund-Dopchie, «La survie littéraire de la Thulé de Pythéas. Un exemple de la permanence de schémas antiques dans la culture européenne», *L'Antiquité Classique*, 59 (1990), 79-97.

d'ailleurs la difficulté majeure de ma démarche; car les mentions de Thulé apparaissent dans des écrits aussi différents que des traités de géographie descriptive et des cartes, des commentaires consacrés aux auteurs grecs et latins qui ont parlé de celle-ci, des romans, des poèmes et des lettres, auxquels s'ajoutent des écrits polémiques, engagés dans les débats idéologiques de l'époque. Si je ne puis par conséquent prétendre à une exhaustivité irréalisable, je crois néanmoins être en mesure de dégager des tendances et des modes d'appréciation, que de nouveaux textes ne feront que confirmer.

Précisons d'emblée, avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, que l'intérêt porté au voyage de Pythéas et à la mystérieuse escale de Thulé est loin d'être partagé par l'ensemble des lettrés à la Renaissance et au XVII^e siècle. Bon nombre d'entre eux, au contraire, se contentent de reproduire, sans réaction particulière, une indication fournie par un texte antique et qui leur paraît accessoire. Pour ne citer que deux exemples, Johannes Camers, dans son commentaire de Solin (1520), rappelle les étymologies du nom de Thulé proposées par Isidore de Séville et d'autres, sans trancher entre celles-ci :

Hinc volunt aliqui ei nomen datum, quasi Thole. Graecis enim θολός turbidus et niger dicitur [...]; Sunt qui a τηλόθεν vel τηλοῦ, i.e. longe dictam putent, propter eius a nostro orbe distantiam. Isidorus a sole dictam vult, quod in ea aestivum Solstitium sol ipse faciat, et nullus ultra eam dies sit⁹.

De même, lorsque Natalis Comes situe dans son traité de mythologie (1551), sur la foi du témoignage de Tzetzés, les îles des Bienheureux entre la Grande-Bretagne et Thulé, il ne se pose aucune question sur le rapport de cette dernière avec une terre d'au-delà ou un autre monde; or ceci lui confère, selon certains celtisants, un caractère mythique, dont Goethe s'est si bien fait l'écho dans sa *Ballade du roi de Thulé*:

Atque cum fortunatae insulae campique Elysii in ea parte Britanniae de communi omnium prope praestantiorum scriptorum sententia, quae est inter occidentem Britanniam et Thulen ad ortum Solis dicerentur, piscatores quidam fuisse in littore maris Oceani narrantur iuxta hanc Britanniam insulam¹⁰.

⁹ J. Camers, In C. Iulii Solini [...] enarrationes ([Vienne], s.d., lettre-préface, 1520), p. 167 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 7537 C).

¹⁰ N. Comes, *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem* (Francfort, 1596, [1^e éd. 1551]), pp. 277-278 (Louvain-la-Neuve, BGSB, AL 17793).

Pire encore, pour certains humanistes, Pythéas n'est qu'un nom sans consistance, désignant un individu, dont on ne connaît quasiment rien. Tandis qu'au début de la Renaissance, Pétrarque, qui s'intéresse pourtant à la question de Thulé, avoue ignorer tout de celui-ci, le médecin anversoïse Joannes Goropius Becanus, dans son histoire des origines des peuples germains et en particulier des Flamands (1569), attribue un rôle mineur à Pythéas, lequel tiendrait ses informations sur le grand Nord de voyageurs antérieurs, tels Ulysse et ses compagnons!

Et praeterea nescio quo Phocensi Pythia Massiliensi teste utitur (sc. Plinius)¹¹.

Deinde quis Graecis iis, qui Romanorum in has regiones adventum aliquot aetatibus praecesserunt, Britanniam et insulas vicinas ad ipsam usque ultimam Thulen aperuisset, nisi Graecorum naves Oceanum hunc Germanicum intrassent, et eius descriptionem ad suos Geographos retulissent? An vero Pytheas navigationem sex dierum ultra Britanniam novisset, nisi Graecorum quisquam eam indicasset?¹².

En revanche, d'autres humanistes manifesteront plus de science, tels Pierre Gassendi, qui vante en connaissance de cause les mérites de Pythéas-astronome, et Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc, qui commande à Rubens un portrait de ce dernier¹³. Il est vrai que tous trois étaient Provençaux...

* * *

1. LES DIFFÉRENTES LOCALISATIONS DE THULÉ

Parmi ceux qui, en revanche, s'intéressent directement et de façon positive à la Thulé de Pythéas figurent en bonne place, on s'en serait douté, les auteurs d'ouvrages géographiques, soit qu'ils décrivent l'ensemble de la terre habitée, soit qu'ils s'attachent plus spécialement aux pays du Nord. Marqués par la géographie gréco-romaine, qui s'est imposée à eux à travers la redécouverte des textes antiques, ils se

¹¹ F. Petrarca, *Fam. Res.*, III, 1, éd. V. Rossi, *Francesco Petrarca. Le Familiari*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1933), pp. 105-109.

¹² J. Goropius Becanus, *Origines Antwerpianae, sive Cimmericorum Becceselana novem libros complexa* (Anvers, 1569), p. 66 (Bruxelles, BR, V.H. 27791 C).

¹³ Cf. Broche, *Pythéas le Massaliote...*, p. 246.

montrent soucieux de concilier les connaissances anciennes et les acquis de leur époque. C'est pourquoi ils établissent des concordances entre les appellations des Grecs et des Latins et les dénominations récentes et ils s'efforcent de reporter les lieux décrits par l'Antiquité sur leurs cartes. Ils devaient donc immanquablement proposer des localisations pour Thulé et, dans la mesure où ils étaient convaincants, gagner à leurs vues les non-spécialistes. Toutefois, ils ont avancé diverses solutions, dont aucune n'a rallié l'ensemble des suffrages.

1.1. *Thulé-Islande*

L'identification Thulé-Islande est la plus régulièrement avancée et elle apparaît tellement évidente à de nombreux humanistes qu'elle n'appelle aucune justification de leur part. Ainsi, Olaus Magnus, l'historien des peuples septentrionaux, évoque en 1555 une Islande lointaine, qui mérite bien sa double dénomination de terre glaciale et d'*Ultima Thule*:

Islandia terra est subiecta polo Arctico, vento praesertim Circio opposita, ac mari Glaciali propinqua, atque ob id dici meretur terra glacialis, seu ultimum Tyle, nulli veterum non celebrata¹⁴.

André Thevet, le cosmographe des derniers Valois, décrit longuement en 1575 l'Islande en l'appelant Thulé et en se présentant comme l'antagoniste victorieux des géographes anciens, incapables de fournir des renseignements exacts au sujet d'une île que lui-même connaît bien. Son rival François de Belleforest, la même année, affirme, lui aussi, la parfaite équivalence entre Thulé et l'Islande:

Pardela les dites Orcades, tirant au Nordest, gist la derniere isle de ce costé, à sçavoir Istland, que les Anciens ont appelée Thile [...]. Strabon, en son premier livre de sa Geographie, semble qu'il vueille nier que ceste Isle soit en estre, à cause que de son temps, ceux de la grand Bretagne n'en disoient rien. Mais moy, qui en ce temps ne laisse rien à discourir, comme ayant veu toute ceste mer, et d'autres plus lointaines, et difficiles à naviguer, sçay que Thile est fort bien habitée et d'assez grande estendue [...]. Voilà ce qui est avoisiné de nostre Isle Thile, ou Istland, si peu des Anciens cogneuë, et par moy Thevet plus que manifestée¹⁵.

¹⁴ O. Magnus, *De Gentibus Septentrionalibus* [...] (Rome, 1555), lib. II, cap. 3 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 11056 C).

¹⁵ A. Thevet, *La cosmographie universelle* [...]. Tome second (Paris, 1575), livre XVI, chap. 11, ff. 673r-v et 674v (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 7560 C).

Car vers septentrion l'Isle de Thyle, ores dicte Island, a esté de toute memoire estimée la derniere des terres de ce costé¹⁶.

Quant à l'Allemand Philip Cluverius (1624), le maître de la géographie historique, il répétera encore, à la suite d'une longue lignée de géographes, que l'Islande est l'antique Thulé, incorporée jadis dans l'orbe britannique:

A Norvagiae littore in occasum versus ad CL mill. germ. navigantibus, occurrit in Oceano Hyperboreo insula Britannicarum olim ultima, Thule, vulgo nunc Island, ab immensis frigoribus et perpetua glacie, quibus damnata est, sic dicta¹⁷.

De telles déclarations, formulées avec une assurance qu'aucun argument ne vient étayer, se rattachent, en fait, à une tradition médiévale, inaugurée par le chanoine Adam de Brème et par des clercs islandais à la fin du XI^e siècle. Ceux-ci avaient, les premiers, assimilé Thulé à l'Islande pour grandir le prestige de l'Église en introduisant l'île des Vikings, nouvellement christianisée, au nombre des pays qu'avait connus l'Antiquité¹⁸.

Toutefois, lorsque des identifications différentes furent proposées et démontrées, les partisans de l'Islande se virent contraints de justifier leur position. Ce fut le cas, notamment, de Jean-Isaac Pontanus, célèbre historiographe du roi Christian IV de Danemark, qui défendit en 1631 la thèse traditionnelle et retint exclusivement les textes favorables à celle-ci. Il écarte ainsi la Thulé-Scandinavie de Procope, sous prétexte qu'il s'agit d'une donnée tardive, et rejette le témoignage de Tacite, qui, selon lui, assimile abusivement à la Thulé de Pythéas, l'un ou l'autre îlot écossais, portant un nom fort répandu dans les mondes britannique et germanique, à savoir *tell*, *tylle*, *toyle*, *theulen*, *thuylen*. En revanche, il retient le «poumon marin» de Pythéas, qui pourrait bien être le *Lebersee*, le *Mare iecoreum* rencontré par des marins frisons, si l'on en croit Adam de Brème:

Et ultra porro eam [sc. Thulen], quod ait, nec esse terram nec aerem, sed instar pulmonis concretum quid, intelligens scilicet, glaciale ibi,

¹⁶ F. de Belleforest, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde*. Tome second (Paris, 1575), livre VII, chap. 1, col. 2038 (Louvain-la-Neuve, BGSH, 3 B 3936).

¹⁷ P. Cluverius, *Introductionis in Universam Geographiam tam Veterem quam Novam libri VI* (Leyde, 1624), lib. III, cap. 20, p. 105 (Bruxelles, BR, V.H. 14278 B/1).

¹⁸ Sur ce rôle d'Adam de Brème et des clercs islandais, voir Dion, «Géographie historique de la France...», 455-478.

aut, ut postea authores vocarunt, nosque inde dicemus Cronium mare: id haud multum discedit a verbis Adami Bremensis, quae mox adducemus, ubi, inter cetera, versus boream ultimum occurrere ait mare Leberse dictum, id est mare jecoreum, quod hic Pytheas Pulmo-neum nominat¹⁹.

Une sélection aussi arbitraire des documents ne manquera pas, on s'en doute, de valoir à Pontanus des objections faciles et des reproches cinglants²⁰.

Si la controverse autour de l'Islande agita de la sorte les cercles de spécialistes, elle ne modifia pas, pour autant, des habitudes fortement ancrées. Au contraire, l'association Thulé-Islande demeure si spontanée qu'elle apparaît régulièrement en dehors des textes géographiques. On la trouve ainsi dans des traductions et des commentaires de textes antiques, comme ceux de Pomponius Mela, sous la plume de Joachim Vadianus en 1522, de Pline l'Ancien, sous la plume d'Antoine du Pinet en 1562, et dans le dictionnaire de *realia* composé par Charles Estienne en 1621:

In ea autem insula (sc. Thule), quae longe supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, et terris congelati maris proxima, quas Engronelant vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus²¹.

La dernière de toutes, c'est l'Isle de Islandt (Thule ins.) où n'y a point de nuit es grands iours, quand le Soleil est au signe de Cancer²².

Thule, est hodie Island, insula in ditone Scotorum, in Septentrionem vergens, ultra Orcadas, latitudinem habens graduum LXIII²³.

Elle se manifeste même, de façon assez inattendue, dans le madrigal à six voix composé par le musicien anglais Thomas Weelkes en 1600 et intitulé *Thule. The Period of Cosmography*. Thulé est clairement assimilée dans ce chant à l'Islande par l'évocation qui est faite de son climat glacial et du feu sulfureux de son volcan principal, l'Hekla. Elle

¹⁹ J.I. Pontanus, *Rerum Danicarum Historia, Libris X Uno Tomo ad Domum usque Oldenburgicam deducta* (Amsterdam, 1631), p. 742 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 11082).

²⁰ Notamment ceux d'Arngrímur Jónsson, comme on le verra plus loin.

²¹ J. Vadianus, *Pomponii Melae De Orbis Situ libri tres [...]* (Bâle, 1522), pp. 194-195 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 7537 C).

²² A. du Pinet, *L'histoire du monde de C. Pline second, Collationnée et corrigée sur plusieurs vieux exemplaires Latins et enrichie d'annotations en marge [...]* (Lyon, 1562), livre IV, chap. 16, p. 161 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 3997).

²³ C. Stephanus, *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum [...]* (Francfort s/ le Main, 1621), s. v. Thule, p. 1145 (Louvain-la-Neuve, BGSB, AL 10949).

est le point le plus septentrional de la terre habitée et trouve son Antipode austral dans la Terre de Feu (Fogo), elle aussi caractérisée par son activité volcanique:

Thule, the period of Cosmography
doth vaunt of Hecla, whose sulphureous fire
doth melt the frozen Clime and thaw the Sky [...].

The Andalusian Merchant, that returns
laden with Cochineal and China dishes,
reports in Spain how strangely Fogo burns [...] ²⁴.

1.2. *Thulé-Frisland*

Si l'Islande est régulièrement présentée comme le point extrême de la navigation de Pythéas, elle n'est pas la seule île septentrionale qui ait été associée à l'*Ultima Thule*. Le célèbre défenseur de la cause amérindienne, Bartolomé de Las Casas et Fernando Colomb, le fils du Grand Amiral, rapportent, en effet, en des termes identiques, que Christophe Colomb s'est rendu en février 1477 dans les parages de l'île de Thulé. Les renseignements véhiculés habituellement à son propos sont erronés: sa partie méridionale ne se trouve pas à 63° de latitude Nord, comme on le pense généralement, mais à 73°, et elle est située plus à l'Ouest que ne l'estimait Ptolémée, dont les chiffres conviennent davantage à l'île appelée Frisland au XVI^e siècle:

Yo navegué el año de 477, en el mes de hebrero, ultra Tile, isla, cien leguas, cuya parte austral dista del equinoccial 73 grados y no 63, como algunos dicen, y no está dentro de la línea que incluye el Occidente, como dice Ptolomeo, sino mucho más occidental. Y a esta isla, que es tan grande como Inglaterra, van los ingleses con mercadería, especialmente los de Bristol, y al tiempo que yo a ella fui no estaba congelado el mar, aunque había grandísimas mareas, tanto que en algunas partes dos veces al día subía veinte y cinco brazas y descendía otras tantas en altura. — Es ben verdad que Tile, la de Ptolomeo, está donde él dice, y que a está la llaman los modernos Frislanda ²⁵.

²⁴ Le texte de ce madrigal a été publié et commenté par E.H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal School*, vol. XII: *Thomas Weelkes. Madrigals of Six Parts (Published in 1600)* (Londres, 1916), Nos 7 et 8 (pp. 44-59) et pp. x-xi. Je remercie vivement M. Pierre Bonniffet, qui m'a mise sur la piste de ce madrigal.

²⁵ B. de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, l. 1, cap. 3, [rédigé avant 1566], dans *Obras escogidas*, éd. J. Perez de Tudela & E. Lopez Oto, vol. I (Madrid, 1957), p. 24.

lo navigai l'anno M. CCCC.LXXVII nel mese di Febbraio oltra Tile isola cento leghe, la cui parte Australe è lontana dall'Equinoziale settantatrè gradi, e non sessantatrè, come alcuni vogliono; nè giace dentro della linea che include l'Occidente di Tolomeo, ma è multo più occidentale. E a quest'isola, che è tanto grande come l'Inghilterra, vanno gl'Inglesi con le loro mercatanzie, specialmente quelli di Bristol. E al tempo che io vi andai, non era congelato il mare quantunque vi fossero sì grosse maree, che in alcuni luoghi ascendeva ventisei braccia, e discendeva altrettanti in altezza. — È bene il vero che Tile, quella di cui Tolomeo fa menzione, giace dove egli dice; e questa da' moderni è chiamata Frislanda ²⁶.

Sans entrer dans la controverse suscitée par ces témoignages entre partisans et adversaires de l'authenticité de ce voyage, ni analyser chaque détail d'un texte diversement interprété et remanié, force nous est de constater que ces informations sur Thulé posent plus de problèmes qu'elles n'en résolvent ²⁷. D'une part, les 73° de latitude Nord font difficulté, car ils ne conviennent pas à l'Islande, mais plutôt au Groenland ou à l'île Jan Mayen. Il faudrait dès lors ou bien admettre que Christophe Colomb a navigué en direction du pôle, dans des mers mal connues, au cours d'une expédition qui n'eut à son époque aucun retentissement, ou bien corriger les calculs du Découvreur et transformer le sens du double témoignage.

D'autre part, la mention de Frisland constitue une énigme. L'endroit appartient, en effet, à ce groupe d'îles aux dénominations variées — Frixlanda, Stillanda, Engroveland, Engroneland —, qui, sur la foi de quelques rumeurs, remplissent les mers polaires sur les cartes du XV^e et du début du XVI^e siècle. De plus, il a connu un regain de succès avec la publication à Venise en 1558, par les soins de Nicolò Zeno, du récit d'un voyage, accompli dans les mers boréales par ses ancêtres Nicolò et Antonio en 1380, en même temps que d'une nouvelle carte des pays du Nord. L'ouvrage décrit une constellation d'îles autour de l'Islande: Estland, au large de la Norvège, Icaria, entre l'Islande et Engroneland (le Groenland), Estotiland et Drogeo, près du continent américain, et Frisland, au sud de l'Islande. Cette configuration fut adoptée par de nombreux érudits, notamment par Ortelius et par Mercator, et elle

²⁶ F. Colombo, *Le Historie della vita e dei fatti di Cristoforo Colombo*, éd. R. Caddeo, vol. 1 (Milan, 1930, [1^e éd., 1571]), p. 29.

²⁷ Cf. e.a. R. Caddeo, «L'Appendice D», in *Le historie [...] di Cristoforo Colombo*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1930), pp. 328-337 et la bibliographie signalée par P.E. Taviani, *Christophe Colomb. Genèse de la grande découverte*, 2^e vol. (Paris, 1980), pp. 119-122.

hanta les différents explorateurs du grand Nord. Bien qu'elle ait été dénoncée comme une supercherie à la fin du XIX^e siècle, les historiens actuels s'efforcent toujours de déceler quelque parcelle de vérité dans cette «rhapsodie géographique» et tentent de faire correspondre les îles des frères Zeno à des terres réelles. Mais leurs avis divergent, face au flou des informations, et Frisland en particulier semble bien n'être qu'un doublet de l'Islande ²⁸. Par conséquent, en identifiant Thulé à Frisland et en situant cette dernière dans l'extrême-Nord, Bartolomé de Las Casas et Fernando Colomb ont expliqué un mystère par un autre et ont conservé à l'étape ultime de Pythéas son «vague infini»...

Il n'est dès lors pas étonnant que cette nébuleuse d'îles nordiques ait séduit des auteurs de fictions. Ainsi, Cervantes s'en est souvenu dans son roman *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, publié en 1617, un an après sa mort. Obéissant au précepte de Torquato Tasso qui recommande de situer les exploits merveilleux d'héros imaginaires dans des terres inaccessibles au commun des lecteurs — Gothie, Norvège, Suède, Islande, Indes orientales et Amériques ²⁹ —, il confère à son couple d'amoureux une origine nordique. Persilès-Périandre est le frère de Maximin, roi de Tile, qui est aussi l'Islande, tandis que Sigismunda-Auristèle est la fille d'Eusebia, reine de Frisland, l'île découverte par Nicolò Zeno, distincte de Thulé et située cette fois au Nord et non au Sud de l'Islande!

Je t'ay dit aussi qu'en la dernière partie de Norvegie, quasi au dessous du Pole Artique, est l'isle qu'on tient pour estre la dernière du monde de ce costé-là, dont le nom est Tile; Virgile l'appelle Tule en ces vers: «Ac tua nautae/ Numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule». Ceste Isle est aussi grande, ou un peu moins que l'Angleterre, riche et abondante de toutes les choses nécessaires pour la vie humaine. Plus avant sous le mesme Nord, à trois cens lieuës de Tile, est l'isle appellée Frislande, decouverte depuis quatre cens ans, et si grande qu'elle faict un puissant Royaume. De Tile est Roy Maximin [...], dont le pere [...] laissa deux fils, dont l'un est ce Maximin, que ie t'ay dit, qui est heritier du Royaume, et l'autre un genereux Prince, appellé Persiles [...].

Eusebie Reine de Frislande, avoit deux filles d'extreme beauté, principalement l'aisnee appellee Sigismonde[...].

²⁸ Cf. l'examen fouillé consacré à cette question e.a. par A. da Mosto, «I navigatori Nicolò e Antonio Zeno», in *Miscellanea di Studi Storici ad Alessandro LUZIO* (Florence, 1933), XI, vol. 1, 293-308.

²⁹ T. Tasso, *Discorso del Poema eroico*, [1^e éd., 1594], lib. II, in *Torquato Tasso. Discorsi dell'Arte poetica et del Poema eroico*, éd. L. Poma (Bari, 1964), p. 109.

Au delà de Tile, qui s'appelle vulgairement Islande, et estoit tenuë la dernière de toutes ces mers Septentrionales, estoit encore ceste autre Isle nommée Frislande, non moindre que la Sicile, qui fut descouverte l'an mille trois cens quatre-vingts, par Nicolas Témo [sic] Venitien, et ignorée iusques alors de tous les anciens, de laquelle Eusebie mere de Sigismonde estoit Reyne. Il y a, dit-il, encore une autre Isle non guere moins grande, et presque tousiours pleine de neige, nommée Groenlande [...]. Je te pourrois dire tout plein d'autres choses de ces Isles, qui tiennent en doute la creance des hommes qui ne les sçavent, et neantmoins sont tres veritables ³⁰.

1.3. *Thulé-Shetland*

Alors que l'Islande et Frisland introduisaient Thulé dans l'univers boréal, au voisinage du cercle arctique, le troisième emplacement régulièrement proposé pour l'escale ultime de Pythéas réduit l'essentiel du voyage de l'explorateur marseillais à une circumnavigation de la Grande-Bretagne. Il s'agit de l'assimilation de Thulé à Shetland, cette dernière étant présentée comme une île unique — l'actuelle Mainland —, proche de l'archipel de 30 îles que constituent les Orcades. S'il est parfois, comme les précédents, affirmé ou suggéré d'emblée, ce rapprochement se fonde dans la majorité des cas sur des arguments plus ou moins développés.

La durée du jour du solstice estival, estimée à 20 heures par Ptolémée, permet ainsi à Benedetto Bordone de calculer, dans son *Insulaire* paru en 1534, la latitude de Thulé et de constater que celle-ci coïncide avec celle de l'île Shetland:

Tyle è Isola nel oceano occidentale [...], e alla parte australe ha l'Isola Orchade, le quali sono in numero Trenta, ne v'è altro da nottare, eccetto che il suo maggior di è di ore venti [...] e la sua lunghezza secondo Tolomeo è miglia cento et uno ³¹.

L'autorité de Ptolémée est également invoquée par Francisco Lopez de Gomara en 1552 et par Gaspar Peucer en 1554 pour justifier cette même assimilation. L'historien espagnol des Indes occidentales se contente de mettre en avant la modeste superficie de Shetland, qui

³⁰ *Les amours de Persiles et de Sigismonde. Sous les noms de Periandre et d'Auristèle. Histoire Septentrionale. Traduite par le sieur Daudiguier* (Paris, 1628, [1e éd. en espagnol, 1617]), pp. 597-598 et 603-604 (Louvain-la-Neuve, BGSB, A 20570).

³¹ B. Bordone, *Isolario. Nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'Isole del mondo [...]* (Venise, 1534), f. Iir (Bruxelles, BR, V.H. 14387 C).

convient mieux à la représentation de Thulé sur les cartes du Pélusien, et dénonce un peu vite une erreur de calcul de ce dernier. Le géographe allemand, pour sa part, fournit en faveur de Shetland une preuve originale, qui serait déterminante pour nous — quoi qu'en pense Jean-Isaac Pontanus —, si elle pouvait être confirmée par d'autres témoins, et qui sera abondamment citée par la suite. Gaspar Peucer assure, en effet, que les marins appellent Shetland, Thylnsel, fournissant en quelque sorte l'origine du nom Thulé :

Aucuns ont pensé que ceste isle (sc. Islande) fust Thyle, isle dernière de celles que les Romains subiuguèrent vers la Tramontane, mais ils l'abusent par ce qu'il n'y a pas long temps qu'elle est découverte, et aussi elle est plus grande, et plus tirant vers la bize. Thylè proprement est une petite isle, qui est entre les Orcades et Faré, tirant un peu vers l'Occident et est à soixante sept degrez (!), encor' que Ptolomée ne la mette si hault, et Islande est a cent soixante mil de Faré, et à deux cens quarante de Thylé, et plus de quatre cens des Orcades ³².

Ptolomaeus [...] cognitae terrae latitudinem versus Septentrionem ad sexagesimum tertium gradum usque extendit, termino in Thyle Insula constituto, quae fuit ultima cognitarum veteribus ad Boream terrarum. [...] Thylen vero vel Thulen Insulam Scoti, quorum paret imperio, Schetlandiam, Nautae Thylnsel nominant. Sita ea est supra Scotiam et Insulas Hebrides, olim Ebudas vocatas, atque Orcades, in Septentrionem et Orientem. Abest ab extrema Scotia navigatione tridui, si secundi aspirant venti ³³.

Quant à William Camden, il nous offre, non pas une preuve isolée, mais un faisceau de preuves dans sa description du monde britannique (1587). Directeur de l'école royale de Westminster et «antiquaire» distingué, il s'efforce de mettre son pays en relation avec l'*Ultima Thule*. Il invoque l'argument — déterminant à ses yeux — fourni par la Thylnsel de Peucer et rejette le témoignage de Procope, parce qu'il est le seul à proposer une interprétation divergente. Au contraire, Ptolémée n'a-t-il pas proposé la latitude convenable, Tacite n'affirme-t-il pas que les Romains entrevirent Thulé à partir des Orcades où ils se trouvaient, Solin ne situe-t-il pas celle-ci à deux jours de navigation du promon-

³² F. Lopez de Gomara, *Histoire générale des Indes Occidentales et Terres neuves, qui iusques à présent ont été découvertes, traduite en françois par M. Fumée* (Paris, 1568, [1^e éd. en espagnol, 1552]), livre I, chap. 11, p. 10 (Bruxelles, B.R., V.B. 11382 A).

³³ G. Peucer, *De Dimensione Terrae et geometrice numerandis locorum particularium Intervallis [...]* (Wittenberg, 1554), pp. 60-61 (Bruxelles, BR, II. 21295).

toire calédonien et Isaac Tzetzés entre les îles Fortunées et la Grande-Bretagne? De son côté, Pomponius Mela précise que Thulé fait face au rivage des *Belgae*, identifiés par Camden aux habitants de Bergen, ce qui est précisément la position de Shetland. Enfin, selon l'érudit anglais, des vers de Stace laissent clairement entendre que Thulé est la Grande-Bretagne tout entière, ce qui clôt la contestation.

Nec me latet vastissimam illam regionem Scandiam sub Thules nomine a Procopio describi. At si verum sit quod doctissimus Gaspar Peucerus libro de Terrae dimensione retulit, Schetlandiam nautis Thilensell vocari, (nec eius fidem imminuere ausim) sane Thule inventa, et res iam tandem confecta. Haec enim Schetlandia est insula aliis exiguis coronata sub imperio Scotorum, frigore obrigens, et undique procellis exposita, cuius incolis, perinde ut Islandiae, piscis exsiccatus et contusus pro farre est. [...] Ut Schetlandiam tamen Thulem fuisse quis existimet, facit primum situs apud Ptolomaeum: LXIII. enim grad. ab Aequinoctiali definita est [...]; inde quod bidui navigatione a Calidoniae promontorio, sive Cathnes abest, qua distantia Thulen ponit Solinus, et Tacitus dicit Thulen dispectam fuisse Romanis Britanniam per Orcadas circumnavigantibus. Postremo quod Bergarum Norwegiae littori apposita est, quo loco Thulem posuit Mela, apud quem Belgarum littori, corrupte legitur pro Bergarum³⁴.

Ces arguments de l'érudit anglais ne passèrent pas inaperçus: ils apparaissent désormais dans plusieurs discussions sur l'emplacement de Thulé. Camden devient une autorité à laquelle se réfèrent notamment Pierre Montanus, rédacteur de la rubrique Islande dans l'atlas Mercator-Hondius de 1606, et le polygraphe et compilateur français Pierre Davity³⁵.

Toutefois, si cette troisième identification peut paraître séduisante, elle ne débouche pas pour autant sur une description précise de l'endroit. Contrairement à ce qui se passe pour l'Islande, les informations les plus fantaisistes circulent à propos de l'île Shetland, pour laquelle on utilise la topique des *ἐσχατιαί* ou *ultimae terrae*, c'est-à-dire

³⁴ W. Camden, *Britannia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio [...]* (Londres, 1607, [1^{re} éd., 1587]), pp. 849-851 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 10876 C).

³⁵ G. Mercator, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura. [...] auctus a I. Hondio* (Amsterdam, 1606), p. 45 (Bruxelles, BR, V.H. 14349 C); P. Davity, *Description Générale de l'Europe. Quatriesme partie du monde avec tous ses empires, royaumes, estats, et républiques [...]* (Paris, 1643), Tome 1, pp. 375-376 (Bruxelles, BR, III. 6881 C).

celle des pays du bout du monde avec leurs merveilles et leurs monstres³⁶. Les conditions frugales dans lesquelles vivent les habitants de Shetland amènent, en effet, certains érudits à faire de ceux-ci tantôt des sauvages au seuil de la bestialité, tantôt des hommes remarquables sur le plan physique comme sur le plan moral, et dignes de figurer dans des paradis utopiques. L'ethnographe Joannes Boemus (1520) projette ainsi une vision négative sur ces insulaires éloignés en leur attribuant de façon abusive la promiscuité sexuelle, que Strabon conférait aux Irlandais, tandis que Paul Jove (1548), soucieux de vanter la terre qu'il a reçue comme bénéfice, célèbre le bonheur et la longévité de ses habitants:

Pomorum copia est; qui illic (sc. Thyle) habitant principio veris inter pecudes pabulis vivunt, deinde lacte in hyeme conspergunt arborum fructus. Utuntur faeminis vulgo, certum matrimonium nullis³⁷.

Earum (sc. Schetlandiae) incolae seminudi, atque inopes, ovis avium, et solis prope piscibus sese alunt: iustitia et pace gaudent, et quum divitiarum, atque luxuriae nomina nunquam audierint, in summaque egestate, et in perpetuis brumae tenebris vivant, fere omnes incredibili naturae felicitate ad summam senectutem perveniunt³⁸.

Quant à Pierre Davity, il se préoccupe, dans sa *Description Générale de l'Europe* (1643), de concilier ces deux caractéristiques opposées en reléguant le comportement bestial des Shetlandais dans le passé et en liant leur robuste sobriété à la situation actuelle:

Toutefois ils vivent heureusement, de mesme que les Norwegeois leurs voisins, sans aucune maladie, iusqu'à une extreme vieillesse, qui est pour le moins de cent ans: veu qu'il y en a plusieurs entr'eux, qui sont du tout vigoureux et robustes, et passent de beaucoup cette âge. Ils sont beaux, grands et forts [...]. Ils ne sçavent que c'est de s'enyurer, mais se convient seulement tous les mois, et passent ces jours-là simplement et ioyusement sans broüillerie, s'assemblans ainsi pour

³⁶ Sur les pays du bout du monde dans l'imaginaire grec, voir p. ex. M. Mund-Dopchie & S. Vanbaelen, «L'Inde dans l'imaginaire grec», *Les Études Classiques*, 57 (1989), 209-226.

³⁷ J. Boemus, *Omnium Gentium Mores, Leges et Ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus [...]* (Anvers, 1571, [1^e éd., 1520]), lib. III, cap. 26, p. 471 (Bruxelles, BR, 5950 A).

³⁸ P. Iouius, *Regionum et Insularum atque Locorum Descriptiones, videlicet Britanniae, Scotiae, Hyberniae, Orchadum, item Moscoviae et Larii lacus [...]*, [1^e éd., 1548], in *Opera quotquot extant omnia* (Bâle, 1578), pp. 34 et 36 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 7796 C).

s'entretenir en amitié. C'est aussi cette tranquillité d'esprit qui les fait vivre longuement sans incommodité [...].

Les anciens habitans de cette Isle vivaient de millet, d'herbes, de fruits et de racines; et faisoient leur boisson avec du miel ou du bled, aux lieux où ils en avaient. Au commencement du Printemps, ils vivoient d'herbe parmi leur bestial; puis de lait; et gardoient leurs fruits pour l'hyver. Leurs femmes estoient communes, et nul n'en avoit aucune particuliere ou certaine³⁹.

Notons enfin que cette localisation de Thulé n'a guère marqué les auteurs de fiction à la Renaissance. Alors que la Thulé intégrée dans le monde britannique a été reprise au Moyen Âge par des romans de la Table ronde, tels que le *Lanzelet* d'Ulrich de Zatzichoven⁴⁰, elle survit dans les siècles suivants au hasard de maigres allusions, comme dans le texte de Joachim du Bellay, *Entreprise du Roy-Daulphin pour le tournoy sous le nom des chevaliers avantereux*. Fêru de références antiques, le poète y conçoit, près de Thulé, une Grande-Bretagne s'étendant erronément en face de l'Espagne, parce qu'il s'appuie sur Tacite et sa biographie d'Agricola, plutôt que sur les cartographes de son époque :

Delaissant donq' les Orcades à part
Qui soubz le pol' sont bien loing à l'escart,
Devers Thulé, du monde la derniere,
A gauche ayant l'estoille mariniere,
Et l'Iberie à droicte regardant,
D'un si bon vent, et d'un cœur si ardent
Singlasmes tant, costoyant d'Hybernie
L'endroit qu'on nomme aujourd'hui Mommonie,
Que l'Angleterre apparut à noz yeux⁴¹.

1.4. *Thulé-Scandinavie*

Le dernier emplacement proposé avec quelque insistance pour Thulé à la Renaissance se fonde sur le témoignage insolite de Procope de Césarée, qui désigne, sous ce nom, un vaste royaume situé en Scandinavie et couvert de forêts, sans rapport par conséquent avec l'Islande et Shetland. S'imposant notamment à Abraham Ortelius, qui avait pourtant, dans un premier temps, accepté l'identification Thulé-Islande,

³⁹ P. Davity, *Description générale de l'Europe...*, pp. 375-376.

⁴⁰ Cf. G. Paris, «Études sur les romans de la Table ronde», *Romania*, 10 (1881), p. 476.

⁴¹ J. du Bellay, *Oeuvres poétiques*. VI: *Discours et traductions*, éd. H. Chamard (Paris, 1931), p. 46. Composé en 1559.

l'extrait de l'*Histoire des guerres* (VI,15) amène l'illustre géographe à installer la Thulé de Pythéas en Norvège. Car cette solution présente à ses yeux d'incontestables avantages. Elle tient compte de la latitude de Thulé calculée par Ptolémée; elle ne contredit pas les renseignements fournis sur son environnement nordique; elle explique le voisinage de Bergen, évoqué par Pomponius Mela. Et surtout elle trouve une confirmation dans l'onomastique: la Norvège ne comprend-elle pas une région appelée Telemark, la Marche de Thulé, et des peuples de Lapons, les *Scricfinner*, qui correspondent bien entendu aux *Scritifinn* de Procope?

Nam Thule nomen [...] pertinere [...] potius ad Scandiam peninsulam, persuasit mihi non solum Procopii gravissimi scriptoris auctoritas; sed et nominis vestigium, quod in hac Scandia, ea nempe parte qua Orcades insulas adspicit, in Norvvegiae quadam parte, (ubi Bergarum emporium celebre) hactenus perdurat. Inter etenim alias Norvvegiae marchias una hic est, quam Tilemarchiam, id est Tules limitem, vulgo appellant. Confirmat hanc meam opinionem non solum Pomponius, qui Thulem Belgarum littori oppositam scribit, [...] sed quoque [...] Ptolemaeus [...]. Idem Procopius Scritifinnos populos Thulen incolere tradit. [...]. Et superest eadem gens in eadem Scandia in diem hodiernum usque, nomine adhuc incorrupto. Scricfinner namque vernacule vocantur, et sunt in Scandia, non item in Islandia⁴².

Cette assimilation demeure toutefois assez longtemps minoritaire. Mais elle connaîtra par la suite un succès considérable, après que le botaniste Olof Rudbeck ait transformé en 1675 sa Suède natale en patrie originelle de l'humanité et fait de celle-ci le point de convergence de toutes les régions mystérieuses de l'Antiquité⁴³. Thulé devient dès lors, comme l'Hyperborée et d'autres endroits encore, un des différents noms de l'Atlantide.

1.5. *Aveu d'impuissance*

Enfin, comme il fallait s'y attendre, on trouve aussi des lettrés qui ont tenté de situer Thulé sur une carte, mais qui ont été amenés à renoncer à leur entreprise. Si, à l'aube de la Renaissance, Pétrarque, à l'instar d'Orose et de Giraud de Barry, jette l'éponge parce qu'il ne dispose pas

⁴² A. Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Anvers, 1595, [1^{re} éd. de la carte et de la description de l'Islande, 1590]), f. 103^r (Bruxelles, BR, V.H. 14330).

⁴³ O. Rudbeck, *Atlantica sive Manheim*, 3 vol. (Uppsala, 1675-1698).

d'informations suffisantes, Pierre Montanus (1606) et le pasteur Samuel Bochart (1646), en son crépuscule, se refusent à trancher entre des localisations différentes, qui ne les convainquent pas. C'est pourquoi ils se contentent de mentionner les thèses en présence, sans donner leur avis.

Adest tanta discordia, ut mihi quidem nihilo videatur occultior insula ipsa, quam veritas. Sed bene habet, quia quod laboriose quaerimus, impune nescimus⁴⁴.

Plerique Islandiam Thulen (uti diximus) olim vocatam asseruerunt. [...] Ortelius suspicatur Tilemarchiam Norvegiæ regni tractum esse antiquorum Thulen: [...] Gaspar Peucerus libro de terræ dimensione author est Schetlandiam vocari a nautis Thilinsell: quod si ita est merito nobiscum eruditissimo Camdemo dicere liceat, inventam Thulen, eamque non Islandiam aut Tilemarchiam sed Schetlandiam esse⁴⁵.

De Thules insulae situ tres sunt Veterum sententiae, una Procopii Thulem esse Scandiam, quae insula non est, sed peninsula, et ab iis locis remotissima, in quibus alii Thulem describunt. Secunda Pythiae Massiliensis, Thulen sex dierum navigatione in Septentrionem a Britannia distare, habere Tropicum aestivum pro circulo Arctico, et solstitio nullas noctes, ut nullos contra per brumam dies; quae ad amussim Islandiae quadrant. [...] Tertia sententia Marini est et Ptolemaei, quibus Thule insula est non magna, ad gradum LXIII, ubi maxima dies est horarum viginti, a Britannia vix bidui cursu remota: quae Schetlandiae conveniunt uni Orcadum⁴⁶.

Le cas d'Arngrímur Jónsson apparaît tout différent. Le docte Islandais, mieux placé que quiconque pour décrire sa patrie, se plaît à brocarder dans de nombreuses lettres et dans trois ouvrages consacrés à l'Islande (1593, 1609, 1643) ceux qui, à l'instar de Jean-Isaac Pontanus, rapportent inconsidérément à celle-ci les témoignages antiques⁴⁷. Mais

⁴⁴ F. Petrarca, *Fam. Res.*, III, 1.

⁴⁵ G. Mercator, *Atlas...*, p. 45.

⁴⁶ S. Bochart, *Geographiae Sacrae pars altera Chanaan seu De Colonia et sermone Phoenicum* (Leyde, 1692, [1^{re} éd., 1646]), col. 654 (Louvain-la-Neuve, BGSH, C 1680).

⁴⁷ Cf. *Ole Worm's Correspondence with Icelanders*, éd. J. Benediktsson, *Bibliotheca Arnarnaganaeana* 7 (Copenhague, 1948), lettres envoyées par et à A. Jónsson, n^{os} 5, 10, 15, 17, 18, 21, 27, 29, 34, 35, 155. *Brevis Commentarius de Islandia quo scriptorum de hac insula errores deteguntur [...]* (1593); *Crymogaea sive Rerum Islandicarum libri III* (1609); *Specimen Islandiae Historicum et Magna ex parte Chorographicum [...]* (1643), in *Arngrimi Iona Opera latine conscripta*, éd. J. Benediktsson, vol. 1, 2, 3, *Bibliotheca Arnarnaganaeana* 9, 10, 11 (Copenhague, 1950, 1951, 1952).

surtout Arngrímur Jónsson a étudié de façon attentive le *Landnamabók*. Or cette chronique affirme que l'Islande était déserte en 874, à l'arrivée des Vikings, et qu'elle n'avait jamais connu d'habitants :

Si enim Islandia eadem esset cum Thule, rueret totum hujus narrationis fundamentum de Islandia Anno Christ. 874 habitari primum caepta. Quod tamen cum irrefragabilis historiarum consensus firmet, ruat illud necesse est: Thulen esse Islandiam⁴⁸.

Il combat dès lors vigoureusement la thèse de l'assimilation Thulé-Islande, dont il souligne les faiblesses, et serait prêt à admettre toute autre solution, si les joutes engagées ne lui révélaient l'inanité de cette tâche. Aussi conclut-il, non sans humour, que Thulé, comme le Paradis terrestre, est partout, autrement dit nulle part :

Ast de situ Thules me nihil laborare; ne forte in talem aliquem labyrinthum incidam, quem nonnulli sagacis ingenii fiducia vitare nequiverunt, Paradisi vetustissimi locum vel situm sollicite inquirentes [...]. Hujus labyrinthi Paradisiaci exemplo monitos volo nimis anxios Thules inquisitores; ne tandem in labyrinthum Thulensem demergantur, [...] coganturque [...] Gasparis Varrerii Lusit. confessionem edere, ut videlicet quemdmodum is de Paradiso, sic hi de Thule mentem suam declarent: ubique Thulen extitisse [...] et loci Naturam qualitatemve, non terram aut locum denotasse. Nisi enim caveant, mox audient: Qui ubique est, nusquam est⁴⁹.

2. LES EMPLOIS DÉTOURNÉS DE THULÉ

À côté des mentions de Thulé faites essentiellement par des érudits, qui tentent d'adapter les données de la géographie antique aux progrès des connaissances entraînés par les Grandes Découvertes, il en est d'autres qui répondent à des fins étrangères à ce débat. Elles sont parfois liées aux controverses idéologiques qui traversèrent la Renaissance et le XVII^e siècle, le plus souvent vidées de leur contenu géographique pour se réduire à un nom, riche en symboles, il est vrai.

2.1. *Les utilisations idéologiques de Thulé*

En ce qui concerne la première démarche, rares furent les humanistes qui purent s'abstraire des querelles opposant les États entre eux ou à

⁴⁸ Jonae, *Crymogaea*..., p. 19.

⁴⁹ Jonae, *Specimen Islandiae*..., p. 305.

l'Église. Au contraire, la majorité d'entre eux mirent inévitablement leur culture au service de leurs convictions et se servirent de Thulé dans cette perspective.

Déjà les emplacements qu'ils proposaient pour la prestigieuse escale de Pythéas n'étaient pas toujours dénués d'arrière-pensées. On peut se demander, par exemple, si le choix de Shetland par Francisco Lopez de Gomara était tout à fait neutre. On sait, en effet, que celui-ci défendait avec vigueur la nouveauté de l'Amérique et refusait par conséquent d'y envoyer des lointains navigateurs antiques⁵⁰. N'était-ce pas, dès lors, une façon détournée de diminuer l'exploit d'un des leurs et de limiter les moyens mis à la disposition de Pythéas, que de réduire son voyage à une circumnavigation de la Grande-Bretagne? Inversement, cette même identification Thulé-Shetland ne valorisait-elle pas la patrie de William Camden en associant plus étroitement l'histoire de cette dernière et l'histoire de la Grèce? Enfin, si le pasteur Arngrímur Jónsson est si farouchement opposé à l'identification Thulé-Islande, ce pourrait être chez lui l'expression discrète d'une hostilité à l'égard de l'Église de Rome qui, par ce biais, avait étendu sa juridiction sur l'île du bout du monde.

Mais d'autres emplois manifestent de façon plus précise l'arrière-plan idéologique de ceux qui y recourent. Il en va ainsi pour un curieux texte de Jacob Perez de Valence, qui, dans un *Commentaire des psaumes* publié en 1484, fait de Thulé un promontoire appartenant à une chaîne de montagnes qui enserme l'océan Atlantique à l'Ouest. Le savant évêque se déclare, en effet, partisan de la représentation ptoléméenne du monde, qui lui semble plus conforme aux Saintes Écritures que le modèle aristotélicien. Il lui faut donc transformer l'océan Atlantique, comme l'océan Indien, en une mer fermée et inventer pour cela une barrière terrestre à l'Ouest, puisqu'il ne connaît pas encore l'Amérique.

Item ad Aquilonem in 30. gradu longitudinis, et 66. latitudinis incipit quoddam promontorium quasi supra Scotiam, quod Tile Ptolomaeus et omnes antiqui appellant, quod Ptolomaeus putavit esse insulam. Sed in veritate compertum est postea ex experientia illum montem protrahi versus ortum, usque ad montem Ripheum, quae provincia hodie Norvegia appellatur⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Cf. G. Gliozzi, *Adamo e il Nuovo Mondo. La nascita dell'antropologia come ideologia coloniale: dalle genealogie bibliche alle teorie razziali (1500-1700)* (Florence, 1977), p. 19 et passim.

⁵¹ J. Pares de Valentia, *Doctissimae et plane divinae explanationes in centum et quinquaginta Psalmos Davidicos [...]* (Venise, 1586, [1^e éd., 1484]), p. 741 (Louvain-la-

De même, les nombreuses références aux vers de la *Médée* de Sénèque, annonçant qu'«un temps viendra où l'Océan ouvrira les barrières du monde, où l'on découvrira une terre immense et où Thulé ne sera plus la dernière des terres», ne sont pas toutes gratuites sous la plume de Christophe Colomb, d'historiens des Indes occidentales et de cosmographes. Elles interviennent généralement dans la question du statut réservé à l'Amérique: est-elle une terre nouvelle, devant laquelle toutes les puissances européennes sont égales, ou une terre ancienne, sur laquelle on revendique un droit d'héritage, en vertu d'ancêtres antiques ou bibliques? Comme cela a déjà été abondamment démontré, l'extrait de la *Médée* permet aux uns de démontrer que l'Amérique ne fut pas totalement ignorée des Anciens, puisque Sénèque en avait eu la prescience, aux autres, de parler de pure coïncidence et de refuser au philosophe des bribes d'informations sur la présence éventuelle de terres au-delà de l'Océan⁵².

Enfin, la querelle sur la langue originelle de l'humanité mit également en cause l'*Ultima Thule*. Pour défendre la primauté de la Bible, comme Livre de l'humanité, il importait de prouver qu'Adam et Ève parlaient hébreu et que par conséquent toutes les régions du monde conservaient des traces de cette langue commune aux premiers hommes. Ce fut l'objet notamment du très docte traité *Geographia sacra* de Samuel Bochart, lequel s'efforça de trouver des origines sémitiques à de nombreux toponymes. Thulé, vocable associé à une extrémité du monde, ne pouvait échapper à l'enquête de l'infatigable pasteur. Celui-ci le rapproche du mot phénicien *thule*, qui signifie «ombre», comme l'indique, par exemple l'expression utilisée par Jérémie, *thule ramsa*, qui peut être traduite «ombres du soir». Samuel Bochart note, de plus, que cette interprétation étymologique est confirmée par la tradition antique qui, d'une part, insiste sur le caractère sombre de Thulé, «*vada caligantia Thules*», «*nigrae littora Thules*», d'autre part, corrobore, selon lui, l'origine phénicienne du nom, puisque le récit des *Merveilles au-delà de*

Neuve, BGSB, AL 18331). Sur ce texte, voir W.G.L. Randles, «Modèles et obstacles épistémologiques: Aristote, Lactance et Ptolémée à l'époque des découvertes», in *L'humanisme portugais et l'Europe. Actes du XXI^e colloque international d'Études humanistes. Tours, 3-13 juillet 1978* (Paris, 1984), 437-443 (pp. 440-441).

⁵² Sur ce problème, cf. principalement l'ouvrage déjà cité de Gliozzi, *Adamo e il Nuovo Mondo...* Cf. aussi, à propos de la manipulation de ce texte à des fins idéologiques: M. Mund-Dopchie, «L'Extrême-Occident de l'Antiquité Classique et la découverte du Nouveau Monde: une manipulation de textes à des fins idéologiques», *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle*, 8 (1990), 27-49.

Thulé est attribué à Mantinias et à Dercyllis, citoyens de Tyr, où se trouve leur tombe.

... Itaque manet quod diximus Thulen appellasse Phoenices a tenebris quae illis [...] thule. Pergamus. Antiquissimus Scriptor Antonius Diogenes qui [...] incredibilium de Thule insula libros viginti quatuor scripsit, [...] non ita diu post Alexandri tempora, ut testatur Photius codice CLXVI, vel fabulam vel historiam suam profitetur se descripsisse ex cyparissinis tabulis Tyri effossis, cum urbs capta est ab Alexandro, e Mantiniae et Dercyllidis tumultis, qui e Tyro profecti post varios errores tandem in Thulen migrarunt, et ibi aliquandiu haeserunt. Unde Graecos liquido constat a Phoenicibus didicisse de Thule insula quicquid afferunt⁵³.

2.2. Les utilisations métaphoriques de *Thulé*

Totalement désintéressée, en revanche, la dernière catégorie d'occurrences qu'il me reste à examiner confère au mot *Thulé*, non plus la mission de désigner un lieu précis, mais la faculté de symboliser la limite extrême de ce monde-ci, au-delà de laquelle surgit un autre monde, puis, par dérivation, l'ultime limite, non seulement dans l'espace, mais aussi dans le temps et dans les sentiments. Nous ne pouvons mesurer aujourd'hui l'impression produite sur l'imaginaire des Anciens par une contrée éloignée, quasiment inaccessible et étrange par ses jours sans fin au solstice d'été et ses nuits interminables au solstice d'hiver. Nous savons seulement qu'elle fut profonde grâce aux témoignages de Pomponius Mela («*Thule, Graii et nostris celebrata carminibus*») et de Servius («*Multa praeterea miracula de hac insula feruntur*»)⁵⁴. De plus, nous la percevons à travers les poètes latins, qui se sont servis de *Thulé* comme d'une métaphore, d'un terme codé, et nous ont légué l'expression *Ultima Thule*, particulièrement heureuse par l'harmonie de ses sons et de son rythme⁵⁵.

Marqués par le retour à l'Antiquité, les écrivains de la Renaissance ne pouvaient que leur emboîter le pas et ont conféré à *Thulé* le sens de «bout du monde», qu'il s'agisse de Pétrarque, du frère Félix Faber d'Ulm, de Conrad Celtis, de Gaspar Schalbe s'adressant à Érasme, de

⁵³ Bochart, *Geographiae sacrae pars altera...*, col. 656.

⁵⁴ Pomponius Mela, III, 6, 57; Servius, *Comm. in Verg. Georg.*, I, 30.

⁵⁵ Sur ces emplois de *Thulé* par les poètes latins, cf. M. Mund-Dopchie, «La survie littéraire de la *Thulé* de Pythéas...», pp. 81-84.

Ronsard, de Jacques de la Taille, de Saluste du Bartas ou de Millotet, correspondant de Bénigne Saumaize, pour citer quelques noms d'une liste qui est loin d'être close:

Parum tibi distans India videbatur, iam Thoprobanem et siquid orientalis oceanus habet occultius, cupido metiebaris ingenio; iam ad extremam Thilen ignotis litoribus latitantem suspirabas, quando Orchades et Hyberne et quidquid terrarum noster fluctus alluit, ipsa vicinitate sordebat.

Sic denique Fortunatas Insulas Orchadasque famosamque sed inco-
gnitam Thilen et omnem australem atque yperboream plagam securus
vester nauta transiliet ⁵⁶.

Quod non minimum humani generis (et) reipublicae bonum est, his
agentibus navigationibus maris hujus factum est, ut Cimber et Celta
altero orbis angulo non numquam sentiant. [...] Sic et Hispanus
Maurusque visitatus visitet Persos et Indos, et Caucasum, et Thule
ultima calcet Taprobanis littora ⁵⁷.

Te (sc. Virgine) duce per Boemos et Pannonas ausus utrosque
Vertere iter, tumidis qua fluit Hister aquis.
Te duce per Gallos perque inclita flumina Rheni
Ivimus et totam vidimus Ausoniam.
Te duce ad extremum rursus properabimus aequor,
Proxima Britannis Thyle ubi litus habet ⁵⁸.

Eius quantumvis longi et molesti itineris tantum abest ut nos poeni-
tuerit, ut in itinere adhuc incerti ubi unicum margaritum Christiani
orbis delitesceres, sancte coniurauerimus te extrema India et ultima
Thyle nos quaesituros, nedum in Brabantia aut Gallia ⁵⁹.

De tes Erreurs l'erreur industrieuse
Qui de la mort ne doute point l'assaut,
Errant de Thule au Bactre le plus chaut,
Se fera voir des ans victorieuse.

⁵⁶ F. Petrarca, *Fam. Res*, IX, 13 et XI, 8, éd. V. Rossi, II (Florence, 1934), pp. 248 et 348.

⁵⁷ Frère Félix Faber d'Ulm, *Evagatorium* (1483), III, 438, 439, cité par E. Buron, *Ymago mundi de Pierre d'Ailly [...]. Texte latin et traduction française des quatre traités cosmographiques de d'Ailly [...]*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1930), p. 383.

⁵⁸ C. Celtis, «Ad Divam Dei Genitricem», III [1^e éd. 1498], in *Conradis Celtis quae Vindobonae prelo subicienda curavit opuscula*, éd. F. Adel (Leipzig, 1966), pp. 27-28.

⁵⁹ Lettre de Gaspar Schalbe à Érasme (28 mai 1519), n° 977, in *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Tome III. 1517-1519, éd. P.S. Allen & H.M. Allen (Oxford, 1913), pp. 602-603.

Sur un autel sacré, je veus sacrer ton lôs,
 Mon devot Des Autelz, lôs que la France honore
 Fameuse par tes vers de Thule jusque au More;
 More, qui tout le ciel assure de son dôs⁶⁰.

Allons plustost gaigner la coste des Gelons,
 Des Sauromates fiers, ou Tartares felons:
 Gaingnons, gaingnons plustost de Thule le rivage:
 Voire, s'il y a lieu plus barbare et sauvage⁶¹.

Aussi delà la mer dont la terre est enclose,
 Voire de l'isle Thule, on viendra pour certain
 Voir quelque jour la tombe où Du Bellay repose⁶².

... O toy, qui d'autre fois
 D'un juge Italien as redouté la voix,
 Fay, las! que quand le son du cornet de ton Ange,
 Huchant de Thulé au Nil, et d'Atlas jusqu'au Gange,
 Citera l'univers prochain de son decès,
 Le Juge et l'Avocat tu sois de mon procès⁶³.

Tout ce que de ses rais le Soleil sans repos
 Redore d'Orient au rivage de Thyle
 Tu le chantes, Denys, en si doux-grave style
 Que la terre et la mer sont moins beaux que tes mots⁶⁴.

Il convient de noter ici que nos lettrés, dans ces extraits, continuent à se référer à une représentation antique du monde, totalement dépassée dans les faits, puisqu'ils donnent comme limites de celui-ci, — outre Thulé — Taprobane, Hyperborée, Bactres, l'Inde, la région des sources du Nil, celle du mont Atlas. Par la suite, le sort de ces *realia* évoluera différemment. Les limites australes et orientales de l'oecumène s'effaceront peu à peu de l'imaginaire occidental, car elles s'identifient à des

⁶⁰ P. Ronsard, «Sur les erreurs amoureuses de Ponthus de Tyard, Masconnois» (1553) et «Sonet à Guillaume des Autelz, Charrolois» (1553), in *Œuvres complètes*, Tome 5, éd. P. Laumonier (Paris, 1968), pp. 164 et 223.

⁶¹ J. de la Taille, *Alexandre*, [1^e éd. Paris, 1573], éd. critique par Chr. N. Smith (Exeter, 1975), p. 13.

⁶² J. de la Taille, Poème «Sur le tombeau de Joachim du Bellay», in *Alexandre...*, p. 46.

⁶³ G. de Saluste Du Bartas, «Le premier jour», in *La Sepmaine* (texte de 1581), éd. Y. Bellenger, vol. 1 (Paris, 1981), p.21.

⁶⁴ Poème de dédicace de Millotet dans B. Saumaize, *Traduction de la Périégèse de la Terre habitée de Denis en François* (Paris, 1597), cité par C. Jacob, «L'oeil et la mémoire: sur la Périégèse de la Terre habitée de Denys», in *Arts et légendes d'espaces. Figures du voyage et rhétoriques du monde*, éd. C. Jacob & F. Lestringant (Paris, 1981), p. 80.

terres de mieux en mieux connues et de moins en moins lointaines. Au contraire, les limites nordiques, qu'il s'agisse de Thulé ou de l'Hyperborée, conserveront leur prestige au-delà de la Renaissance. La musicalité de leur nom y est assurément pour quelque chose.

*
* * *

Il apparaît, au terme de cette enquête, que Thulé, le point extrême de la navigation de Pythéas, se voit attribuer à la Renaissance le statut de terre mi-réelle, mi-légendaire, par les géographes aussi bien que par les écrivains. Les premiers, en effet, ne parviennent pas à la situer de façon définitive sur la carte. Les solutions qu'ils proposent ne convainquent pas totalement : aussitôt énoncées, elles suscitent la controverse. Les causes de cette inaptitude à trancher sont diverses. Mentionnons tout d'abord l'état lacunaire de la documentation transmise par l'Antiquité sur Thulé et sur Pythéas. Naguère comme aujourd'hui, toutes les hypothèses sont permises, pourvu qu'elles concernent les régions septentrionales. Ensuite, le choix du lieu n'est pas toujours neutre. Le prestige de l'Antiquité amène certains lettrés à conférer à un endroit déterminé une ancienneté glorieuse en l'intégrant dans l'univers gréco-romain, tandis que les querelles idéologiques font pencher la balance en faveur d'une localisation conforme aux présupposés des protagonistes. Enfin, comme nous avons pu le constater, les renseignements vagues rapportés par les Grecs et les Latins ne peuvent que rarement être confrontés à une connaissance précise de l'Islande et encore moins des mers polaires. Si des humanistes scandinaves ont consacré à leur pays des traités descriptifs qui connurent une large diffusion, les explorateurs sont peu nombreux à se rendre dans le voisinage du pôle, et les recherches d'un passage Nord-Ouest et d'un passage Nord-Est conduisant au Pacifique, menées à la fin du XVI^e siècle, se soldent par des échecs, quand elles ne provoquent pas la disparition de leurs auteurs. Au lieu de renseignements exacts, on décrit dès lors le plus souvent en ces lieux, terres réelles — déformées, mal dénommées et mal situées —, endroits dédoublés, îles imaginaires. Dans un tel environnement, la Thulé de Pythéas demeure insaisissable.

Par ailleurs, à cet éloignement et cette imprécision s'ajoute l'étrangeté. Thulé ne connaît pas de nuit — ou si peu — au solstice d'été et une nuit quasi continue au solstice d'hiver ; elle est proche de la mer

figée — en voie de congélation — ou de la banquise proprement dite, toutes conditions de vie qui l'opposent à la norme connue du monde des humanistes et des cosmographes de cabinet. Il est donc tentant d'en faire une terre des confins, abritant des hommes simples et purs, ainsi que des monstres redoutables. C'est à quoi s'emploient des érudits tels que Joannes Boemus, Paul Jove et Pierre Davity. Pour les mêmes raisons, l'escale de Pythéas se prête admirablement à servir de décor de rêve aux amours héroïques, qui ne peuvent, par définition, se réduire à une intrigue banale de la vie quotidienne, se déroulant dans un cadre connu. À la suite d'Antoine Diogène, Cervantes se souvient de la mystérieuse Thulé et il ne craint pas de lui associer Frisland, l'île énigmatique révélée aux hommes de la Renaissance par le récit de Nicolò Zeno.

Enfin, précédés dans cette voie par les poètes latins eux-mêmes, les lettrés de la Renaissance et du XVII^e siècle transforment Thulé en un mot-code signifiant l'extrémité de l'oecumène, en général ou au Nord, qu'ils utilisent dans les contextes les plus divers. Thulé se verra assurer, dans cette fonction, une survie remarquable. À toutes les époques désormais, elle désignera de façon imagée le terme du monde connu, sans qu'on perçoive nécessairement son lien avec la culture grecque et les circonstances qui lui ont donné naissance. Comme le disait très justement, une fois encore, Roger Dion, «Pythéas n'eût pas cru sans doute que vingt-deux siècles après lui, *Ultima Thule*, cette transcription latine d'une formule qu'il avait employée dans sa relation de voyage, agirait [...] à la manière de ces adages antiques qui nous ouvrent en deux mots une perspective sur l'infini»⁶⁵.

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⁶⁵ R. Dion, «La renommée de Pythéas dans l'Antiquité», *Revue des Études Latines*, 43 (1965), 443-466 (p. 444).

Ilse REINEKE

AGOSTINO BEAZIANO UND SEINE EPISTEL *VERONA*

Im Jahre 1524 veröffentlichten in Rom zwei Humanisten in einem gemeinsamen Buch Gratulationsgedichte, mit denen sie ein für sie beide bedeutsames Ereignis würdigten: Papst Clemens VII. hatte seinen politischen Ratgeber und Diplomaten Gian Matteo Giberti für seine Verdienste um die Kurie zum Bischof von Verona ernannt. In einer Zeit, in der ihr Vaterland Italien wirtschaftlich und kulturell dem Ruin nahe war, weil der Habsburger Karl V. und der französische König Franz I. es im Kampf um die Vorherrschaft mit Krieg überzogen, und es sich zudem aus dem Osten von den moslemischen Türken bedroht sah, priesen die beiden Dichter den erst seit einem Jahr amtierenden Papst Clemens und den ihnen persönlich bekannten Giberti als Männer, die endlich friedliche Zeiten heraufzuführen versprochen¹.

Der eine der beiden Dichter ist der schon damals bedeutende Pietro Bembo. In einem heiteren Epyllion mit dem Titel *Benacus* huldigt er seinem jungen Freund Giberti, mit dem er einige Jahre zuvor im Dienste von Papst Leo X. gestanden hatte, er als Sekretär, Giberti als Diplomat. Er preist Gibertis Qualitäten, fordert ihn auf, seine neue Würde auch als Verpflichtung zu begreifen, und malt in eindrucksvollen

¹ Die editio princeps wurde bei F. M. Calvi gedruckt. Folio 1^r-7^r findet sich Bembos *Benacus*, 7^r-12^r Beazianos *Verona*; 12^r-13^r folgen vier Epigramme Beazianos — so F. Tateo, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. VII (Rom 1965), p. 392. Ob es sich um einen Separatdruck handelt, läßt sich Tateos Angaben nicht entnehmen (auch der Artikel von C. Dionisotti über Bembo im selben *Dizionario*, vol. VIII (Rom 1966), pp. 133-151, führt hier nicht weiter). Gemeinsam wurden diese Gedichte nachgedruckt in Venedig bei Aldus 1527 und 1528, bei Stagnoni 1531. Gruter hat Beazianos Epistel zusammen mit den Epigrammen aufgenommen in seine *Deliciae Italarum poetarum*, vol. I (Frankfurt 1608), pp. 334-339. Im Anhang habe ich die Epistel und die Epigramme in leicht veränderter heute üblicher Orthographie und Interpunktion wiedergegeben. Der Text basiert auf der Aldina von 1527 (deren Text in der mir zugänglichen Ausgabe der Wolfenbütteler Herzog-August-Bibliothek allerdings an mehreren Stellen verderbt ist) und auf den *Deliciae* des Gruterus.

Bildern den für das Land sehnsüchtig erwarteten Frieden aus. Erst kürzlich wurde dieses anmutige Gedicht, in dem Bembo auf anspruchsvoll spielerische Weise mit der antiken Literatur in Wettstreit tritt, von Fred Nichols in seine Anthologie neulateinischer Dichter aufgenommen². Nahezu unbekannt ist uns dagegen heute der Verfasser des anderen Gedichts aus diesem Band, Agostino Beaziano, dessen Epistel *Verona* Bembos Gedicht folgt. In ihr läßt Beaziano die Stadt Verona dem Papst ihren Dank für die Ehrung aussprechen, die zusammen mit Giberti auch ihr zuteilgeworden ist.

Verbunden durch ihren gemeinsamen tiefen Wunsch nach Frieden, bilden die beiden Gedichte eine Einheit. Und ist Bembos Epyllion an Giberti adressiert, den vom Papst Geehrten, so Beazianos Epistel an den Papst als den Urheber der Ehrung. Steht also bei Bembo der Papst eher im Hintergrund, wird dieses eventuelle Manko von Beaziano dadurch ausgeglichen, daß er Gibertis neue Würde als ein vielversprechendes Zeichen des eigentlich politisch Handelnden begrüßt. So sehr sich aber die Gedichte inhaltlich und gedanklich ergänzen, so wenig passen sie in ihrem Tonfall zusammen. Denn Bembo hat ein sehr persönlich gefärbtes Glückwunschgedicht an seinen jungen Freund Giberti verfaßt, Beaziano dagegen im Namen einer Stadt eine Epistel offiziellen Charakters geschrieben, deren wichtigstes Anliegen die Huldigung des Papstes ist.

Zu den ersten Beobachtungen zählt auch, daß Beaziano in vier der Epistel angeschlossenen Epigrammen Giberti und ebenso Bembo genauso enthusiastisch preist wie in der Epistel den Papst, in ihnen Giberti fast Gott gleichstellt und Bembos *Benacus* als unübertrefflich hinstellt³. Die Vermutung, daß Beazianos Epistel und Bembos Epyllion kaum zufällig gemeinsam veröffentlicht worden sind, bestätigen die im *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* von F. Tateo zusammengestellten Daten über Beaziano, die deutlich werden lassen, daß Beazianos Leben in vielerlei Hinsicht entscheidend von seiner Beziehung zu Bembo beeinflußt worden ist, daß Bembo als der zwanzig Jahre Ältere für Beaziano oftmals die Rolle eines väterlichen und protegierenden Freundes eingenommen hat⁴.

² F. Nichols, *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry* (New Haven - London 1979), pp. 318-328, mit einer Übersetzung ins Englische sowie einigen Erläuterungen. Interpretiert habe ich dieses Gedicht in "Der 'Benacus' des Pietro Bembo", *Res publica litterarum*, 12 (1989), 177-183.

³ Siehe im Anhang p. 175sq.

⁴ F. Tateo, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. VII (Rom 1965), pp. 390-393.

Im Jahre 1514, also zehn Jahre vor der gemeinsamen Veröffentlichung der Gedichte, war Bembo auf Beaziano aufmerksam geworden, und zwar in Venedig, wohin Bembo als Abgesandter des Papstes Leo X. gereist war. Beaziano, gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts im norditalienischen Treviso geboren, hatte sich — wie viele andere seiner Zeitgenossen — aus rein ökonomischen Erwägungen für die klerikale Laufbahn entschieden — wenn auch sein Interesse von Anfang an der Literatur und philosophischen Studien gegolten hatte. Durch Bembo, der ihn mit diplomatischen Aufträgen nach Rom schickte, erhielt er Zugang zur Kurie des berühmten, aller Renaissance-Kultur gegenüber aufgeschlossenen und als Mäzen bekannten Mediceer-Papstes Leo und lebte dort einige Jahre so, wie es seinen Vorstellungen entsprochen haben mag. Leo beauftragte ihn mit der Beschaffung griechischer Bücher für seine reichhaltige Bibliothek, er konnte Kontakte zu den um den Papst versammelten humanistischen Dichtern knüpfen und lernte so neben anderen den literarisch interessierten Gian Matteo Giberti kennen⁵. Dem Papst widmete Beaziano auch einige Gedichte, in denen er seine großzügige Haltung gegenüber Dichtern wie ihm pries⁶.

Der Tod Leos X. 1521 und der Pontifikat des sich als rigorosen Reformers verstehenden Nachfolgers Hadrian VI. bedeuteten das abrupte Ende des prunkvollen päpstlichen Hofstaates, an dem Poeten und Gelehrte, Maler, Architekten und Komponisten eine so anregende und förderliche Umgebung gefunden hatten. Sie alle zogen sich zurück. Beaziano hielt sich nun die meiste Zeit in Venedig auf, Bembo ging in seinem Landhaus seinen humanistischen Studien nach. Hadrian starb jedoch bereits dreizehn Monate nach seinem Amtsantritt, und in seinem Nachfolger Clemens VII., einem Neffen Leos, konnten die Gelehrten und Künstler wieder einen Mäzen zu finden hoffen. Als nun der ihnen bekannte Giberti von dem neuen Papst 1524 zum Bischof ernannt wurde, war das für Bembo und Beaziano eine willkommene Gelegenheit, den Kontakt nach Rom wieder anzuknüpfen, und in ihren Glückwunschgedichten nahmen sie sie gemeinsam wahr.

Für einen modernen Philologen ist es nun interessant, daß Beazianos Epistel neben einem Epyllion eines Pietro Bembo steht, der uns als

⁵ Über die Person und die bedeutende politische Rolle Gibertis an der Kurie von Leo X. und Clemens VII. sowie die größeren politischen Zusammenhänge siehe A. Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma. Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543)*, Uomini e dottrine 16 (Rom 1969).

⁶ Leider erwähnt Tateo nicht, wo diese Gedichte veröffentlicht sind.

Humanist und auch als Dichter gut bekannt und dessen *Benacus* fraglos als gelungen zu bewerten ist. Ist Beazianos Gedicht zu Recht in Vergessenheit geraten? Oder lohnt es, auch an diesen Renaissance-Dichter zu erinnern?

Die genauere Betrachtung des Gedichts, in dem Beaziano in Form einer Heroide die Stadt Verona zum Papst sprechen läßt, läßt zunächst einmal erkennen, daß es sich, so assoziativ es als Brief auch abgefaßt ist, in drei Teile von abnehmender Länge gliedert, die jeweils mit einer Anrede einsetzen. Im ersten Teil (v.1-83) gratuliert Verona Clemens zu seiner Wahl zum Papst und zu der glücklichen Entscheidung, die er mit der Ehrung Gibertis getroffen habe; im zweiten (v.84-124) wird die neue Würde Gibertis im Blick auf seine politischen Verdienste gewürdigt; am Schluß (v.125-159) steht eine Aufforderung an den Papst, den Krieg gegen die Türken zu wagen, dann auch an Giberti, auf den Frieden hinzuwirken. Wenn also auch allein der Papst im Titel als Adressat genannt ist, so wird doch die Aufmerksamkeit in einem nicht geringen Maße immer wieder auch auf Giberti gelenkt, der für Verona den Anlaß der Epistel gebildet hat.

Stilistisch und kompositorisch am gelungensten ist ohne Zweifel der mit erkennbarer Sorgfalt erstellte erste Teil, in dem sich Beaziano vor die delikate Aufgabe gestellt sah, im Namen Veronas dem Papst zu seiner schon ein Jahr zurückliegenden Wahl zu gratulieren und die späte Gratulation auch noch mit der Ernennung Gibertis zum Bischof begründen zu müssen. Beaziano hat das Problem geschickt gelöst. Den Papst in getragen-epischem Ton in der ihm von Gott gegebenen Machtfülle ansprechend (v.1-4)⁷, läßt er Verona sofort auf die schon zu beobachtenden Auswirkungen der Wahl zu sprechen kommen: auf die weltweit oder zumindest in ganz Italien ausgebrochene Freude (v.11 *gaudia per populos*) und die neubelebte Hoffnung auf eine Zeit des Glaubens und der Gerechtigkeit. *Principe te* heißt es zweimal (v.13 und 17) — betont am Versanfang — in dem Abschnitt, in dem Beaziano vor dem Hintergrund des von Krieg heimgesuchten und von den Türken bedrohten Landes den Frieden plastisch schildert. Hat nicht auch ein Glückwunsch zu einer Wahl Gewicht, der bei aller Verspätung bereits

⁷ Beaziano charakterisiert den Papst seiner Zeit entsprechend als weltlichen wie auch als geistlichen Herrscher. Typisch für die damalige Übertragung mythologischer Vorstellungen ist eine Wendung wie *sacris terroribus orbem concutere* (v.2sq.), die ähnlich auch auf Jupiter zutreffen könnte.

auf Indizien verweist, die den neuen Amtsinhaber als den einzig richtigen erscheinen lassen?

Beinahe abrupt schlägt der Ton nach dieser freundlichen Huldigung um: *gaudebam ... , sed publica praeter privatim ipsa tamen nil, quo laetarer, habebam* (v.24sq.): In einem der Heroide angemessenen persönlichen Ton läßt Beaziano Verona sagen, daß sie die allgemeine Freude über die neu eröffneten politischen Aussichten nicht von Herzen zu teilen vermochte, solange die sich weitab in Rom abspielenden Ereignisse nicht auch im Norden des Landes konkrete Auswirkungen zeitigten. Gibertis völlig unerwartete und überraschende Ernennung zum Bischof von Verona jedoch (v.26-31 *cum sponte egregium iuvenem ... tale nihil nobis sperantibus offers*) läßt alles in einem neuen Licht erscheinen: durch eine glückliche Entscheidung des Papstes verkörpert Giberti nun auch für Verona die Hoffnung auf bessere Zeiten, und der Dichter malt noch einmal die bedrängenden Kriegswirren aus, die den Wunsch nach Frieden umso dringlicher erscheinen lassen.

In diesem Zusammenhang spricht Beaziano auch davon, daß Giberti, literarisch interessiert und rhetorisch hochbegabt, gerade für die Gelehrten und Dichter Anlaß zur Freude bedeute (v.46-54). Mit *aspice* (v.50) lenkt er den Blick des Papstes auf den Giberti, an dessen Tür sich sogar die Gebildeten drängten, um kluge und wohlgeformte Ratschläge zu erbitten. Die Hoffnungen des Dichters könnten hier die Interessen der Stadt Verona ein wenig in den Schatten gestellt haben.

Die v.50-54 geschilderte Szene erinnert vage an eine ähnliche aus den *Georgica* aus dem Beginn von Vergils Preis des Landlebens (2,458-474), zu dessen Gepflogenheiten die tägliche salutatio der Klienten bei ihrem Patron gehörte. Verbindendes Moment ist, daß sich auch das vergilische Landleben *procul discordibus armis* (v.459) abspielt und von *secura quies* (v.467) bestimmt ist. Den Gegensatz zwischen Stadt und Land darf man in Beazianos Gedicht allerdings nicht suchen.

Beaziano beschließt den ersten Teil ähnlich, wie er ihn eingeleitet hat. Hatte er an den Anfang die weit verbreitete Reaktion auf die Kunde vom neuen Papst gestellt, so steht am Schluß eine längere Schilderung der allgemeinen Freude, die Gibertis Ernennung zum Bischof nach sich gezogen hat (v.59-85). Verona findet Zeichen dieser Freude auch ringsum in der Umgebung: Die Tage werden strahlender und schöner, und die Felder und Wälder zeigen sich in neuem Gewand.

Catull 8,3.8 heißt es bekanntlich *fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles*. V.18-25 aus der vierten Vergil-Ekloge steigert Beaziano, indem er den Aspekt des gänzlich Neuen einführt (mit *gramine ... insueto* und *flores ... novos, quos nulla prius conspexerat aetas* v.61-63).

Die lebhafteste Reaktion aber zeigt der als Gott personifizierte Gardasee, der mit den Nymphen und Nachbarflüssen ein frohes Fest veranstaltet. Daß dieses Motiv an den ersten Teil von Bembo Epyllion (v.7-66) erinnert, muß man für eine bewußte Anspielung halten, in der Beaziano seiner Bewunderung für die Dichtkunst des älteren Freundes Ausdruck gibt. Wie bei Bembo schmückt sich auch bei Beaziano der Benacus, ruft seine Gäste zusammen und feiert mit ihnen ein gemeinsames Mahl.

Doch schildert Beaziano das, was bei Bembo in anmutigen Details ausgeführt und gerade durch sie so reizvoll ist, ganz knapp. Er benutzt die von Bembo übernommene Szene nur als Vorspiel für eine eigene Darstellung munteren erotischen Treibens der Flüsse und Nymphen auf dem See⁸, das ganz im Zeichen ausgelassener Heiterkeit steht und, begleitet von zustimmenden Donnerschlägen aus dem Olymp, in den gemeinsamen Preis der Namen von Clemens und Giberti mündet, in den die gesamte Natur einfällt:

*Clementem ingeminant, Gibertum litora reddunt,
Turbantur fremitu fluctus collesque resultant.*

Anders als der abgerundete erste Teil besteht der zweite (v. 84-124) ganz im Briefstil aus locker aneinandergereihten Passagen, in denen die bereits ausgesprochenen Huldigungen und Erwartungen intensiviert werden. Eine Steigerung erzielt Beaziano vor allem dadurch, daß Verona, kaum daß Giberti zum Bischof ernannt worden ist, auch schon den Papst bittet, ihn mit der ihm zukommenden Kardinalswürde auszuzeichnen (v.87sq. *unum, oro, adicias, roseo insignita galero / tempora fulgentem nobis, pater optime, mittas*).

Gibertis mannigfaltige Qualitäten, die hier zur Sprache kommen, dienen Verona als Beweis dafür, daß der Papst in diesem Mann den Richtigen ausgezeichnet und zu einflußreicher Stellung an der Kurie

⁸ Ohne daß man diesen Eindruck an einzelnen Wendungen belegen könnte, erinnert Beaziano hier an die — noch lasziveren — *Hendecasyllabi* Giovanni Pontanos, die erstmals im Rahmen seines Gesamtwerk 1505 von Aldus gedruckt wurden und danach mehrere Neuauflagen erfuhren.

erhoben habe. Zuerst (v.86-101) werden Gibertis Verdienste im Ausland angeführt und Karl V. (v.94 *augustus Caesar, populi moderator Iberi*) und Heinrich VIII. (v.95 *quique regit toto divisos orbe Britannos*) als Zeugen aufgerufen (v.93 *fatentur*), die durch Gibertis rhetorisches Geschick (v.96 *eloquii dulcedine*) als Verbündete der Kurie gewonnen worden seien⁹. Große Mühen und Gefahren habe Giberti auf den strapaziösen Reisen zu ihnen auf sich genommen (v.98-101). Die Anklänge an Bembo Gedicht sind auch hier unübersehbar. Wie im ersten Teil drängt sich der Eindruck auf, daß Beaziano seine Verse im Anschluß an Bembo gestaltet, jedoch meist in ähnlicher Weise gerafft hat.

Das *fatentur* klingt wie ein blasser Widerhall der — aus Catull 64,357 entlehnten — Wendung *testis adest*, mit der Bembo nun nicht die Herrscher, sondern ihre Reiche — in seinem Fall Frankreich und Spanien — aufgerufen hatte (Strophe 8 der Benacus-Rede, v.118-125). Und wenn Beaziano sagt, *quos (reges) ... eloquii dulcedine mulsit utrosque ... foedere iunxit* (v.96sq.), ist man versucht, darin eine knappe und nüchterne Inhaltsangabe der lebhaften neunten Strophe der Benacus-Rede bei Bembo zu sehen, die mit einer Personifizierung und Apostrophe einsetzt: *Hae (terrae) te insolita orantem ... flectentem regum mentes, Giberte, videbant* (v.127sq.). Ähnlich mutet die Schilderung der Reisestrapazen wie eine abstrahierende Zusammenfassung der fünften und sechsten Strophe aus Bembo Benacus-Rede an. Zwar spricht Beaziano eindrucksvoll von der einem Südländer ungewohnten Kälte nordeuropäischer Regionen, aber auch farblos und ganz allgemein von den *labores* (v.98) und *vitae manifesta pericla* (v.101). Und was überhaupt ist in diesem Zusammenhang mit den *aestus animi* (v.98) gemeint? Bembo dagegen hat Giberti in seiner Kraft und Energie mit der sturmgepeitschten Eiche (v.99) und dem meerumtosten Felsen (v.100) verglichen — man denke an *Aeneis* 4,441sq. oder 7,586sq. — und statt einer summarischen Beschreibung der mühevollen Reisen eine gefährliche Episode auf dem Apennin ausgemalt, *luctantis equi cum frangeret armos ... imber* (v.104-109).

Aber nicht nur Karl V. und Heinrich VIII., auch die Republik Venedig hat Giberti auf die Seite der Kurie zu ziehen vermocht (v.103-124). Daß Giberti sich in seinem Bestreben, Unabhängigkeit für das Land von Karl V. durch eine Allianz mit Frankreich und England zu erlangen, ebenfalls um die Republik Venedig bemühte, erwähnt auch Bembo (v.132-138). Im Gegensatz zu den vorausgegangenen Anspielun-

⁹ Zu Gibertis diplomatischen Reisen im Auftrag der Kurie siehe A. Prosperi, l.c., p. 133sqq.

gen auf Partien aus Bembos Gedicht rafft Beaziano hier aber nicht, sondern weitet aus. Ganz offensichtlich ist er hier zu einem für ihn wesentlichen Punkt gelangt, wenn er dem Dogen Andrea Gritti als einem Karl V. und Heinrich VIII. weit überragenden Herrscher nahezu göttliche Macht zuspricht (v.111-116; *non alia gravitate sedentem in solio ... aetherio dare iura Tonantem*, heißt es am Schluß dieses Abschnitts). Beaziano führt Clemens vor Augen, von welch starker Zustimmung (v.104sq. *pectore toto, toto animi affectu* und noch einmal v.107sq. *volenti ... animo*) aufseiten der Venezianer die ihnen vom Papst über Giberti angetragene Allianz getragen wird, seien sie sich doch durchaus der Vorteile bewußt, die sie aus diesem Bündnis gegen die aus dem Osten drohenden Türken ziehen würden (v.117-119 (*Grittus*) *novit ... patriae imperio concordia tecum commoda quanta ferat, necnon te novit amico, quid sperare queat*).

Nahtlos schließen sich am Schluß der Epistel, in ihrem dritten Teil (v.125-159), die konkreten Erwartungen an den Papst an. Clemens, in offenbar unerläßlicher Anspielung auf Vergils vierte Ekloge als *caelo ... demissus ab alto* (v.125) titulierte, wird als der einzig denkbare Führer im Kampf gegen die Türken gepriesen. Da alle Soldaten bereit seien, den Märtyrertod zu sterben, bleibe nur, ihn zum alsbaldigen Kampf aufzufordern (v.136-138), der Triumphzug mit schneeweißen Rössern auf den Palatin sei ihm schon gewiß (v.143-146).

Und ganz am Ende bringt Beaziano die Rede noch einmal auf Giberti. Wie auch immer er sein neues Amt auszufüllen gedenke, er möge berücksichtigen, daß sich jetzt aller Erwartung in Verona auf ihn richte (v.156 *in te solum qui lumina iecimus*). Auf ihn wendet Beaziano nun ein bereits am Anfang gebrauchtes Bild an, in dem er vom Papst als dem Lenker des Kirchen-Schiffs gesprochen hat; *ad sacrae lectum moderamina puppis ... te celsa in sede locatum*, hieß es dort (v.7sq.) — jetzt, an Giberti gerichtet: *excipe tot saevis bellorum fluctibus actos atque tuos fesso subeuntes remige portus* (v.158sq.). Der Papst und Giberti, so stellt Beaziano hier noch einmal heraus, bilden aus der Sicht Veronas eine nahezu unauflösliche Einheit, nur durch beider gemeinsames Wirken ist eine friedliche Zukunft vorstellbar.

Die von Beaziano angesprochene Allianz zwischen Venedig und dem Papst kam 1524 zustande, so daß man die Epistel, die im selben Jahr veröffentlicht wurde, als eine unmittelbare Reaktion auf dieses politische Ereignis verstehen muß: Das zur Republik Venedig gehörende und so von der Allianz mitbetroffene Verona gab in ihr seiner Freude

über die jetzt besonders enge Bindung an die Kurie Ausdruck. Nicht allein also, daß der Papst Giberti zum Bischof dieser Stadt gemacht hat, ist Anlaß für die Epistel gewesen, vielmehr scheint man diese Ernennung als Bekräftigung der Allianz durch den Papst gewertet zu haben, die nun ihrerseits einer Antwort harrete.

Beazianos Epistel erweist sich so als ein aktuelles politisches Gedicht, das gegenüber dem Papst — sowie allen anderen Lesern — die von Giberti verfolgte Außenpolitik unterstützen wollte. Und eben in dieser Eigenschaft verdient die Epistel es, aus der Vergessenheit hervorgeholt zu werden. Nachdrücklich ist auf den Rang hinzuweisen, den sie in der Gattung des heroischen Briefes einnimmt, hat doch bereits Heinrich Dörrie Beazianos *Verona* als "wohl das erste Briefgedicht, das deutlich die Tendenz politischer Publizistik erkennen läßt", beurteilt¹⁰. Er hat diese Epistel in die Reihe der "Mahn- und Sendschreiben" gestellt, eine Form der Epistel, die auf Petrarca zurückgeht, der die *Roma* und die *Ecclesia* Briefe an den Papst schreiben ließ, wobei er die seit Ovids Heroides üblichen elegischen Distichen durch rein hexametrische Verse ablöste¹¹.

Seinem Eintreten für Gibertis Politik verlieh Beaziano natürlich größeres Gewicht, indem er im Namen einer ganzen Stadt schrieb. Vielleicht aber geht die Epistel gar nicht auf eine Idee des Dichters selbst zurück, sondern auf einen öffentlichen Auftrag. Beaziano könnte auch im Auftrag der Stadt Verona die huldigenden Worte für den venezianischen Dogen und seine Einwilligung in die Allianz gefunden haben, oder er könnte im Auftrag des venezianischen Rates an den Papst geschrieben, dabei aber die Perspektive Veronas gewählt haben, um so stärker auf Giberti eingehen zu können.

In seiner Konzeption jedenfalls und seiner Überzeugungskraft ist Beazianos Gedicht sicherlich als gelungen zu betrachten. Im einzelnen jedoch hält es einer strengen literarischen Kritik nicht immer stand, und daran ist nicht nur schuld, daß Beaziano sich mit seiner Epistel neben Bambos Epyllion gestellt und dadurch offenkundig gemacht hat, daß ihm Bambos leichte geistreiche Art zu dichten, wie sie sich zumindest in einem Gedicht wie dem *Benacus* zeigt, nicht gegeben war. (Eine Ausnahme bildet nur die muntere Badeszene, die er um ihrer selbst willen

¹⁰ Heinrich Dörrie, *Der heroische Brief* (Berlin 1968), p. 440.

¹¹ Dörrie charakterisiert die "Mahn- und Sendschreiben" pp. 431-437.

gestaltet zu haben scheint, die man aber auch als stilistisch unangemessen empfinden könnte.)

Die oft verdrehte Wortstellung — man sehe sich nur die einleitenden Verse an — erschwert eine flüssige Lektüre. Man stößt sich an unschönen Wiederholungen auf engem Raum und an stereotypen Wendungen, durch die Beaziano die Unvergleichlichkeit von Clemens und Giberti hervorzuheben sucht.

Videbant (v.13) — *visam* (v.14); *aetherias ... auras* (v.65) — *aetherium ... decus* (v.74) — *in solio ... aetherio* (v.116); *decus* (v.74.85.131.150); *insignita* (v.87) — *insignes* (v.89). V.10sq. z.B. heißt es *assueto maiora ... gaudia*; v.28sq. *qualem (iuvenem) non ulla tulere saecula, nulla ferent*; v.43 *dulcius aut illustre magis nihil esse putavi*; v.54 *ut nil unquam hominum audierint exactius aures*.

Hinzu kommen blasse Epitheta wie *illustris* und *insignis* (v.27) oder *praestans*, das v.28 Giberti, v.72 die Nymphen charakterisiert.

Doch findet man auch einzelne aus der Lektüre antiker Dichtung gewonnene anschauliche Formulierungen, wodurch die pauschale Verurteilung Beazianos durch seinen Zeitgenossen Julius Caesar Scaliger als zu hart erscheint: *sine arte, sententiis et numeris vulgaribus, ut in ea (epistola) neque puritas sit neque maiestas heroici*¹².

V.11sq. *imis ... illapsa voluptas pectoribus* (cf. Silius 15,95 *animis illapsa voluptas*); v.34 *quae flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis* (cf. Aeneis 2,600 *iam flammae tulerint (eos) inimicus et hauserit ensis*); v.42 *subiit tantarum pondera rerum* (cf. Ovid, Trist. 2,237 *in hoc ... tantarum pondere rerum*); v.64sq. *comas ... silvarum aetherias tractare licentius auras* (cf. Statius, Theb. 3,257 *silvarum ... comas ... mulcet iners aestas* u.ä. in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol.III 1753, 68sq.); v.87sq. *roseo insignita galero tempore fulgentem* (cf. vielleicht Ausonius p. 361,25 P. *rosa viret Augusto foliorum tecta galero*).

Aus ihrem Schattendasein, das sie bisher neben Bembos Epyllion gefristet hat, sollte Beazianos Epistel herausgeholt und genauso wie der *Benacus* ins Bewußtsein der neulateinischen Philologen gerückt werden¹³.

¹² Scaliger im sechsten Buch seiner *Poetik*, jetzt in I. Reineke, *Julius Caesar Scaligers Kritik der neulateinischen Dichter* (München 1988), p. 188 mit einem Kommentar p. 391sq.

¹³ Für wesentliche förderliche Kritik möchte ich vor allem Prof. Dr. Jozef IJsewijn danken.

Verona

Ad Clementem VII. Pontificem Maximum

- Magne pater, regere imperio cui Tybridis arces
 Et datur immensum sacris terroribus orbem
 Concutere atque minis pavidas compellere mentes
 Huc illuc hominum monitis parere negantum,*
 5 *Ex quo iam nostras implevit nuntius aures
 Tot fracta tantisque tuis virtutibus omni
 Invidia ad sacrae lectum moderamina puppis,
 Debita iamdudum te celsa in sede locatum,
 Tergemino augustum caput irradiasse tiara,*
 10 *Protinus exorta assueto maiora sonabant
 Gaudia per populos imisque illapsa voluptas
 Pectoribus curarum obliviam grata ferebat.
 Principe te rediisse fidem, rediisse videbant
 Iustitiam terris tanto post tempore visam.*
 15 *Spes erat exhaustam post tot fera funera Martis
 Postque tot avectas externo milite praedas
 Principe te Italiam extinctis requiescere bellis
 Posse et in antiquas se rursum extollere vires.
 Quis tot praeterea populis regnisque superbum*
 20 *Detentorem Asiae iam caelo undisque minantem
 Audeat insurgens bello temptare queatque,
 Tu nisi dux venias auctorque in proelia reges
 Concordes stabili firmatos foedere ducas?
 Gaudebam haec animo reputans, sed publica praeter*
 25 *Privatim ipsa tamen nil, quo laetarer, habebam,
 Cum sponte egregium iuvenem, virtutibus auctum,
 Illustrem ingenio, insigni pietate decorum
 Praestantemque animi, qualem non ulla tulere
 Saecula, nulla ferent, nostris qui rite modoque*
 30 *Praesideat sacris, possit qui nostra tueri
 Commoda, tale nihil nobis sperantibus offers.
 Scilicet hoc unum est, quo vulnera nostra coirent
 Quoque habeat felix tandem fortuna regressum.*

15 *spesque* Gruterus

- Quae flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis,*
 35 *Dum fera tempestas nostros saeviret in agros,*
Nota tibi et nostro reor ingemuisse dolore.
Maxima sed lapsis tribuis solacia rebus,
Hunc praeesse meis talem cum civibus ipse
Nil poscentem amplo iuvenem dignatus honore
 40 *Iussisti et Venetas decorasti praeside terras.*
Cui simul ac ingens te concedente potestas
Obtigit ac subiit tantarum pondera rerum,
Dulcius aut illustre magis nihil esse putavi
Quam dare divitias et magna merentibus ultro
 45 *Praemia quaerendique animos exsolvere curis,*
Praesertim cordi quibus est invisere sedes
Musarum ambitione procul studiisque Minervae
Altius innixos laudata per otia vitae
Usque sub extremum pulchro se offerre labori.
 50 *Aspice doctorum numerum, qui casta frequentant*
Limina certatim iuvenis, Parnasia tamquam
In dubiis responsa petant: prudentia verbis
Illius est et tanta fides, ea gratia fandi,
Ut nil umquam hominum audierint exactius aures.
 55 *Quodque magis mirum est, tota tibi mente receptum*
Dilectumque adeo, tumidum praecordia regno
Nil quicquam quod non deceat fecisse videmus,
Tu licet invidiam super his hostesque requiras.
Ergo hunc praepositum nobis, ubi numine divum
 60 *Fama tulit, iam candidius splendescere soles,*
Dulcius ire dies coepere et gramine campus
Vestiri insueto tellusque effundere flores
Visa novos, quos nulla prius conspexerat aetas,
Ipsa etiam arva situ posito ridere comasque
 65 *Silvarum aetherias tractare licentius auras.*
At genitor vitreo Benacus flumine gaza
Regali decorat pendentia pumice tecta,
Convocat huc nymphas vicinaque flumina mensasque

 41 *atque* Gruterus

 43 *putavit* Aldina(!)

- Instruit atque una dapibus vescuntur opimis.*
 70 *Curribus hinc agitant animos, ubi gaudia vecti,
 Mille cient varios spatiosa per aequora ludos.
 Dumque cient, spectant praestanti corpore nymphas,
 Quarum praecipuos ostentat vultus honores
 Aetheriumque decus, veteres hic suscitatur ignes,*
 75 *Concipit ille novos necdum bene suetus amor
 Ingemit et mediis uri miratur in undis.
 Interea crebris resonat clamoribus aether,
 Splendida dum passim Clementis nomina laeto
 Omine concelebrant et caelo laudibus aequant,*
 80 *Mox Gibertum omnes contenta voce salutant
 Atque sua ut veniat visurus regna precantur.
 Clementem ingeminant, Gibertum litora reddunt,
 Turbantur fremitu fluctus collesque resultant.
 Hoc igitur refero ingentes tibi nomine grates,*
 85 *O decus, Ausoniae spes o fidissima gentis.
 Verum etiam his unum, iuveni quae magna dedisti,
 Unum, oro, adicias, roseo insignita galero
 Tempora fulgentem nobis, pater optime, mittas.
 Insignes iuvenis mores, sanctissima vitae*
 90 *Acta suae nosti, totiens expertus amorem,
 Ingenium totiens spectatum rebus agendis.
 At tibi quam fidus fuerit, quam pectore constans,
 Laeta recessisset cum iam fortuna, fatentur
 Augustus Caesar, populi moderator Iberi,*
 95 *Quique regit toto divisos orbe Britannos,
 Quos simul eloquii dulcedine mulsit utrosque
 Protinus aeterno addictos tibi foedere iunxit.
 Quos aestus animi, quos pertulit ille labores,
 Mutatis cum vectus equis saevissima Rheni*
 100 *Frigora Belgarumque nives vastique procellas
 Aequoris et vitae manifesta pericla subiret!
 Haec meritis iuvenis precibus da munera nostris,
 Neve negare queas, tibi sunt exempla senatus
 Adriaci procures: Viden, huic ut pectore toto,*
 105 *Toto animi affectu assensum tribuere petenti?
 Qui licet hoc possint tibi concessisse videri,
 Sic te oculis gestant, tua sic decreta volenti*

- Accipiunt animo, magnum tamen omnibus illum
Undique et omnigena iuvenem virtute micantem*
- 110 *Allicere officiis ac promeruisse putarunt.
Praecipue Venetis Gritus qui praesidet oris,
Quo nec consilio melior nec iustior umquam
Sceptra tenere manu potuit rerumque potiri,
Cuius tanta viget maiestas regia vultu,*
- 115 *Tantus honos, ut non alia gravitate sedentem
In solio rear aetherio dare iura Tonantem;
Novit enim, patriae imperio concordia tecum
Commoda quanta ferat, necnon te novit amico,
Quid sperare queat, trepido cum ardere tumultu*
- 120 *Contingat Latium vel si terraque marique
Terreat Illyricas Turcarum exercitus urbes.
Non tanto aspiciam Venetos terrore solutos
Iustitia et placida populos in pace tueri,
Nil nisi tuta suis meditantes otia terris?*
- 125 *Tu potes hoc caelo, Clemens, demissus ab alto,
Ut regeres rite unus religionis habenas,
Quam foede oppressam rabidoque sub hoste labantem,
Sustentare diu propria virtute valeres.
Tam pia quis duce te, quis te tam sancta iubente*
- 130 *Induere arma neget certaeque occumbere morti,
Si sit opus? Cum sic decus immortale per orbem
Adquiratque sibi stellantis gaudia regni,
Hic ubi fortunae vis deperit improba nec ius
Ullum habet in nobis duri violentia fati*
- 135 *Atque dies, ubi nulla datum, quae finiat aevum.
Tu modo rumpe moras et iam fer pectus in hostem:
Ire iube instructas acies et proelia poscant
Neve animum regis memorata potentia frangat.
Nos adeo (sit fas nos dicere vera) tremendum*
- 140 *Fecimus ignavi, tot digna, indigna relatu
Qui tulimus nec quicquam animos iniuria movit
Degeneres nil iam antiquae virtutis habentes.
Ergo tempus erit, cum victo ex hoste triumphos
Inclita te niveis invectum Roma quadrigis*
- 145 *Ducere sublimem ad sacrata palatia cernat,
Curarum atque impendentis segura pericli.*

- Tu vero interea, iuvenis, quem clara sub alta
Sidera fama vehit fotum applaudentibus alis,
Cuius Castalidum chorus et meditatur Apollo*
- 150 *Egregium decus aeternis intexere chartis:
Sive paras animum in solitas demittere curas
Principis eximii, quocumque ut tempore gratus
Muneris accepti, gratus videaris honorum,
Sive tibi oblatas mavis invisere gentes*
- 155 *Veronamque tuam, quae dii, precor, omnia firment:
Nos in te solum qui lumina iecimus, in quo
Nostra salus posita est spes et fundavimus omnes,
Excipe tot saevis bellorum fluctibus actos
Atque tuos fessos subeuntes remige portus.*

Ad Petrum Bembum

- Ex animo quoniam Gibertum diligis atque hunc
Aequari caelo laude merere putas,
Immensum eximio iuvenis laetatus honore
Nescio quid solito grandius ore sonas.*
- 5 *Et peream, veterum nisi tu contendere saeculis
Nostra iubes, Veneti gloria, Bembe, maris.
Quam bene non alio Gibertus carmine dici
Hoc alius nemo carmine dignus erat.*

Ad Matthaeum Gibertum

- Multa deum humano generi tribuisse videmus,
Numquam hominis poterat quae meruisse labor.
Innumeras ideo positas sibi possidet aras
Et deus in toto cernitur orbe coli.*
- 5 *Tu quoque cum meritis dederis mihi plurima nullis,
Quis, Giberte, mihi te neget esse deum?
Dicere sed nostra hoc si religione vetamur,
Supra hominem certe te coluisse licet.*

Ad Matthaeum Gibertum

- Altera lux Medicum, nutu qui temperat orbem
 Nec virtutis habet praemia digna suae,
 Signatum summo te cunctis laetus honore
 Praetulit et meritis non tamen aequa dedit.*
- 5 *Nec dabit, ut tribuisse tibi velit omnia magnus
 Hic, Giberte, deus, cui dare tanta licet.
 Finge tuos tamen aequari mercede labores,
 Quo faciat fidei non habet ille satis.*

Ad Matthaeum Gibertum

- Quam debere putem tibi, si, Giberte, requiris,
 Quantum animo atque anima me dare posse datur.
 Verum animo atque anima, quando tibi reddere, quantum
 Debeo, non ullo tempore posse puto.*
- 5 *Saltem aliqua ut meritis referatur gratia tantis,
 Hunc tu iure tuo sume animum atque animam.*

Thesaurus linguae Latinae
 München

G.H. TUCKER

DIDACUS PYRRHUS LUSITANUS (1517-1599), POET OF EXILE

Ever since his inclusion as one of the speakers in Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *Dialogi duo de poetis nostrorum temporum* (Florence, 1551) the Jewish poet and humanist scholar Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, born in Évora on 17 April 1517, has needed no introduction to students of Renaissance Latin poetry — although his several alternative names may have been a source of confusion and occasional difficulty for researchers. In print, Didacus also latinized his Portuguese (*marrano* Christian) name, Diogo Pires, as Jacobus Flavius Eborensis; we also know from the act of his will (dated 1597, then 9 May 1599; read 17 May 1599) that his Jewish name was Isaia Kohen.

Around him, a fair body of scholarship has developed over the last two centuries — notably, from Yugoslav historians of Dubrovnik, and, more recently, from Portuguese scholars, though often independently from each other¹. Space does not permit me here to present a full critical bibliography, something highly-needed, on which I am concurrently working². First (in section A) I shall outline and place in context Didacus's itinerant poetic career in exile and the related question of his Judaism, in comparison principally with his fellow Jewish exile Amatus Lusitanus (1511-68). Then (in section B) I shall hope to draw some conclusions about the literary or literal nature of Didacus's presentation of himself as a poet of exile. Finally, however, I shall set out in an Appendix the sequence of his published and unpublished work, indicating the places in which I have found rare or unique original editions

¹ The two critical traditions meet in J.P. Santos Carvalho, "De Évora a Ragusa: a peregrinação sem regresso de Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus", in *O Instituto* 140-41 (1980-81), 79-100.

² Useful though incomplete bibliographies appear in C. Ascenso André's edn. of Diogo Pires, *Antologia Poética* (Coimbra, 1983), and I. das Dores Figueiredo Martins, *Bibliografia do Humanismo em Portugal no Século XVI* (Coimbra, 1986), pp. 218-19. I am grateful to Prof. G. Tournoy for drawing the latter to my attention.

and manuscripts, whose precise location has all too often been obscured or passed over in silence by former scholars.

A. *Didacus Pyrrhus, Joachim Du Bellay and Amatus Lusitanus*

Didacus Pyrrhus's life spanned eighty-two years of the Sixteenth Century, whilst the progress of his travels and studies encompassed university cities and cultural centres of western Europe as varied as Coimbra and Salamanca, London and Antwerp, Louvain and Paris, Venice, Florence, Ancona, Ferrara, Rome, possibly Pesaro, and finally Ragusa (Dubrovnik), where he settled for the last forty-one years (the last half) of his life — not to mention Constantinople, Palestine and Jerusalem.

Already in 1551, Giralaldi, echoing Homer and Horace, addressed him in his *Dialogi* as a wandering exile, as a veritable Ulysses of his day,

qui per tot orbis regiones extorris patria ad ultimos usque Britannos
es peregrinatus, et qui vidisti, ut est Homericus versus, mores hominum
multorum et urbes.

(*Dialogi* 1551, p. 7)³

— just as, indeed, only a little later, the Pléiade poet Joachim Du Bellay (1522?-60) was to present himself (albeit fictionally) as an exiled Ulysses in his French and Latin poetry composed in Rome (1553-57), when he was private secretary to his kinsman, the Cardinal Jean Du Bellay; this highly fruitful period for Joachim actually coincided with Didacus Pyrrhus's time in the Eternal City (1522-possibly 1555?)⁴. With both these poets, as in Horace's *Epistles* and indeed Homer's *Odyssey*, there is a fundamental ambivalence or tension between, on the one hand, the positive aspects of travel, the richness of experience and enhanced wisdom associated with it, and, on the other hand, its negative attributes: the curse of wandering and exile, nostalgia for the homeland, the need for fixity, the need for fortitude — and yet also, the further paradox of deriving moral advantage from the disadvantages of exile through the acquisition of such fortitude.

³ Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 1.1-3; Horace, *Ars Poet.*, 141; id., *Epist.*, 1.2.17 (contrast *Epist.*, 1.11.25-7).

⁴ Cf. Du Bellay, *Poemata* (1558), "Patriae Desiderium", 45; id., *Regrets* (1558), 31.1-4. See G. H. Tucker, "Ulysses and Jason: a Problem of Allusion in Sonnet XXXI of *Les Regrets*", in *French Studies* 36 (1982), 385-96; and Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey: Joachim Du Bellay and the Antiquitez de Rome* (Oxford, 1990), *passim*, and pp. 235-6 for detailed comparison with Diogo Pires.

Much ink and scholarly fortitude was devoted to this last, Stoic, consideration in the *Medices Legatus de exsilio* (Venice, 1522) of that other wandering Greek scholar and poet, Petrus Alcyonius (1487-1527?), who, like Didacus, was mentioned, albeit briefly, in Giraldi's *Dialogi* of 1551 (p. 45). (Although complimentary about his iambic and lyric verse, Giraldi characterized him disparagingly as "Petrus Alcyonius Venetus mordax, et maledicus, nec pudens magis quàm prudens".) Alcyonius had worked as a corrector in Aldus Manutius's press in Venice, whilst Didacus was later to be on the closest terms with Aldus's son Paulus, witness the honour Didacus paid him in his 1545 Ferrara *Carmina* (as later in his verse epistle *Ad Paulum* (Mantua, 1563)) and Paulus's letter of thanks (22 May 1550) published in his *Tre libri di lettere volgari* (Venice 1556). Didacus's links with the Manuzii in Venice were to last even through to his late period in Ragusa, when Paulus's son, Aldus the younger, helped to publish Didacus's 1582 poetic collection *De illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant*.

Now, the best, non-literary, parallel example of a complex, paradoxical attitude to travel, reminiscent of Didacus Pyrrhus and Du Bellay, is presented in the life and writings of Didacus's fellow countryman and correligionist, his contemporary, and possible kinsman, the Portuguese Jewish physician Amatus Lusitanus, otherwise known as João Rodrigues de Castel Branco⁵. With Didacus, he shared his itinerary across Europe and the Turkish Empire, proceeding likewise from studies in Salamanca to the Low Countries, and thence to the various cities of Italy — especially ducal Ferrara (where Jewish scholars and merchants were actively welcomed under the d'Estes, Ercole II and Renée de France, and where Amatus lectured on medicine in 1540-47), Rome 1550-53 (where Amatus treated Pope Julius III himself), and papal Ancona, where a Portuguese *marrano* community which was overtly Jewish enjoyed special privileges and safety until the death of Julius III in 1555. The ensuing papal bull of Paul IV, *Cum nimis absurdum* (23 July 1555), which actively repressed the Jews (and led to the brutal massacre and dispersal of the Ancona community in 1556), immediately lost Amatus his personal wealth, belongings, and library, provoking

⁵ On their probable kinship, see A. da Costa Ramalho, "Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, Poeta e Humanista", in *Humanitas* 35-6 (1983-4), 1-17 (pp. 16-17). Cf. also Frei Fortunato [de São Bonaventura], "Diogo Pires", in A. de Portugal de Faria, *Portugal e Italia*, vol. IV: *Litteratos Portugueses na Italia* (Leorne, 1905), pp. 141-53 (p. 147) [rare copy in Paris, Bibl. Nat.: 8° Q.3572]. Cf. below, n. 18.

him, and possibly Didacus as well, to seek refuge in Pesaro; it even prohibited him, as a Jewish physician, from treating Christian patients⁶. Hence, probably, Amatus's move in 1556 to Ragusa, where, nonetheless, he practised as a physician, albeit temporarily, from 1556-58. In 1558 he was joined there by Didacus, before passing on to Turkish Thessalonika, where he died in 1568, far from his native Portugal — as Didacus wistfully records in the epitaph he wrote for him and published in his late poetic corpus *Cato minor* (Venice, 1592; augmented Venice, 1596)⁷.

Amatus's prolific seven *Curationum medicinalium centuriae* (published in various stages over 1551-1566) bear testimony to the great wealth and variety of his medical and other experiences on his various itineraries — and, as such, to the *positive* value of travel. In his sixth Ragusan *centuria* (Venice, 1560), "Curatio XXX", he even relates how he cured one Didacus Pyrrhus, "vir Graecè et Latinè peritissimus", from a bilious attack provoked by bad fruit: recently arrived in Ragusa from plague-ridden Constantinople, Didacus (himself knowledgeable in medicine) was obstinately but mistakenly convinced he had the plague, since he showed similar symptoms, but he nearly died of the blood-lettings he insisted on as a result — until, of course, the timely and firm intervention of Amatus.

Later, from the English physician and antiquary Sir Thomas Browne (1605-82), we also have external corroborating evidence of fruitful scholarly collaboration between Amatus and Didacus on their travels. Browne lists in his '*Musaeum Clausum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita*' "A Comment of Dioscorides upon Hyppocrates, procured from Constantinople by Amatus Lusitanus, and left in the hands of a Jew of Ragusa"⁸. Amatus's earlier *Index Dioscoridis* (Antwerp, 1536) and *In Dioscoridis... De medica materia... Enarrationes* (Venice, 1553), in which philological explanations of plants' Greek names figured prominently, similarly coincided with the close presence of Didacus in Flanders and Italy; it is hard to believe that Amatus would not have used the services

⁶ Cf. C. Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 295-301; A. Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* (Torino, 1963), pp. 247-51, 632; Santos Carvalho, "De Évora a Ragusa", p. 89.

⁷ *Cato Minor* (1592), p. 145. Cf. Santos Carvalho, "De Évora a Ragusa", p. 82; T. Chersa, *Della vita e degli scritti di Didaco Pirro* (Firenze, 1826), p. 27.

⁸ *Miscellany Tracts*, XIII, 1.12, in *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. G. Keynes, 3 vols (London, 1928), iii, 109-19 (p. 111).

of his philologically (and indeed, medically) “peritissimus” companion — as in fact Browne’s testimony seems to indicate⁹.

However, the *centuriae* of Amatus also record his tribulations as a wandering Jewish physician — in particular, the prefatory letter of the fifth *centuria* (dated Thessalonika 5320 [i.e. 1560]), addressed to “Josepho Nassinio Hebraeo”, and beginning with the leaden words “In damnis sub Paulo quarto, Anconae habitis...”. Curiously, in the sixth Ragusan *centuria*, the prefatory material includes a rather disparaging “Ragusii Civitatis brevis descriptio”; this contrasts markedly with the earlier enthusiasm for Ragusa displayed by Amatus in his letter of 15 May 1551 from Rome to the Ragusan Senate — a letter he was to publish as the dedication of his Venetian *In Dioscoridis... enarrationes* of 1553. (In it he had confessed his longstanding ambition, even from his teaching days in Ferrara, to be engaged as a physician in Ragusa.) In 1558, however, his application to practise there freely was ultimately rejected by the Ragusan senate (apparently observant of the strictures of the 1555 papal bull). Hence probably his slightly sour description of Ragusa as “urbs parva, sed antiqua, et Venetiarum simia”, set on the Illyrian coast “inter rupes”, exposed in winter to unhealthy winds, producing “vina potentia, sed insalubria”, “fructus paucos, triticum... nullum”, governed autonomously by a nobility, who were “divites satis, ac sobrii”, and inhabited by a large population, of which the merchant searaders were “civiles satis, merces ut nobiles”, whilst the “reliqua pars populi” was “misera”.

Above all, Amatus expressed the conflict between the positive and negative aspects of his wandering life — as well as the need for proper fortitude, worthy of a Petrus Alcyonius — in his moving “Iusiurandum” (dated Thessalonika 5319 [i.e. 1559]), which he placed at the end of his final, seventh *centuria* (Venice, 1566). In it he swore that

in studiorum... ratione [me] adeo frequentem fuisse, ut nullum quantumvis arduum negotium, me a bonorum authorum lectione avocare potuerit, non rei familiaris iactura, non navigatio, non crebrae peregrinationes, non denique exilium quod, ut virum philosophum decet, magno et invicto animo hactenus sponte substinui:...

(f. M2^{ro})

⁹ For contemporary testimony of Didacus’s medical knowledge, see Frei Fortunato, “Diogo Pires”, pp. 146-7; cf. also below (and n. 21).

Now, despite Giraldi's presentation in 1551 of Didacus Pyrrhus as "extorris patria", an exile from his fatherland, it was rather the positive aspects of his wanderings that he emphasized. Naturally, he made him the spokesman for Portuguese humanism, so filling a regrettable gap in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia... clarorum virorum* (Venice, 1546), about which Didacus had complained in his letter to Giovio from Ferrara dated February 1547¹⁰. Giraldi also had Didacus describe key figures of Spanish and English humanism, in reflection of his studies and travels. He even published one of Didacus's poems with the *Dialogi* (p. 113). Above all, he highly commended the technical versatility of his versification in both his published and still unpublished poetry — a versatility to match even that of Homer's archetypal wandering Odysseus *polytropos*¹¹:

tu mihi unus super omnes, quos recensuisti in poetica pollere videris,
sive heroicum canas, sive elegum, sive lyricum modularis, nam hende-
casyllabis non minus eleganter, quàm argutè ludis, ut tui libelli partim
editi, partim propediem edendi ostendent,...

(*Dialogi* (1551), p. 69)

This tonal, generic and metrical versatility was the very hallmark of Didacus's major poetic collections — not just of the already published *Carminum liber unus* (Ferrara, 1545), but also of the late *Cato minor*, to be published (twice) in the years before his death, and gathering together the poetic output of his whole lifetime. Tragically, this aesthetic of variety was to be betrayed by Didacus's early nineteenth-century Ragusan editor Urbano Appendini, who in his *Carmina* (Ragusa, 1811), produced an expurgated posthumous edition of Didacus's manuscript *Elegiarum libri III. ad Dominicum Slatarichium*; Appendini excluded most of the erotic elegies "argumento deterritus", privileging instead more serious descriptive, occasional, and encomiastic verse, as well as, of course, the poems of exile¹².

In his 1551 dialogue Giraldi immediately followed his observations on Didacus's artistic versatility with comment on his wandering exile,

¹⁰ MS Modena, Bibl. Estense. misc. estense lat. 174 (α0.6,15), ff. 161^{ro}-162^{vo}; transcription in P. Kolenditch, "Nekoliko pesama humaniste Didaka Pira", in *Zbornik Istorije Književnosti Sprske Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti, Odeljenje literature i jezika*, 2 (Beograd, 1961), 1-49 (pp. 14-17).

¹¹ Cf. Tucker, "Ulysses and Jason", pp. 390-91.

¹² Cf. G.H. Tucker, review of Pires, *Antologia Poética*, ed. Ascenso André, in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 48 (1986), 566-8.

yet he made no mention of Didacus's Judaism, nor gave he any explanation for Didacus's departure from Portugal other than the evident ingratitude of the Portuguese on letting him go, unappreciative of his worth; his poetry would be even more brilliant, he says, could he lead a more tranquil life... Giraldis is then testily interrupted by Bartholomaeus Riccius, the Ferrarese Latin grammarian and writer on *imitatio*, who is impatient to hear more from Pyrrhus about foreign poets:

sed tu cum Lusitaniam tanto poetices honore illustres, eò illa in te magis ingrata, quòd te tam diu exulem, ac profugum diversas orbis partes peragrarè permittit, quanta maiora, et meliora faceres, si otiosam pacatamque ageres vitam, rectè tu quidem, et verè de Didaco inquit Riccius, sed permittamus eum dicere qui restant, et quae eius sunt partes,...

(*Dialogi*, p. 69)

Interestingly, this apparent lack of comprehension, if not of information, on Giraldis's part is also shared by the same Riccius in a letter to Didacus datable to just prior to 1545 and later published in Riccius's *Epistolarum libri VIII*. Riccius is just as complimentary there as Giraldis on Didacus's poetic skill and erudition, and looks forward to the imminent publication of a book of his poetry (presumably the 1545 *Carmina*), which would make him known in Italy. Above all, he is adamant that Didacus should dedicate his book to his native university of Coimbra, lest he should be forgotten by, or become an utter stranger to, his compatriots — or lest they should think him dead, due to his long silence, when they would rather rejoice at the news of his literary success in Italy. Strangely, it is as if Riccius were advising Didacus to keep open the option of return:

habes prudentissimam in Lusitania tua Academiam, quam Coimbram dicunt, huic opus tuum inscribere iure optimo poteris, idque, si me audis, facies. quoniam primum, ea suorum civium optima scripta, aliis quam sibi inscripta legere non debet, deinde vero quod uno isto tuo optimo officio assequeris amplius, quòd tuis non prorsus alienus factus videbere. quos ista memoriae tuae recordatione post tot annos reviseris. qui fortasse tuo isto diuturno silentio te diem tuum etiam obiisse arbitrantur. cum vero senserint te adhuc auris frui, atque tam feliciter frui, sibi valde letabuntur, tibi vero absenti vehementer gratulabuntur. incumbere igitur in hanc meam sententiam, atque id opus te edendum para.

("B.R. Didaco Pirro S.D.", *Epistolarum libri VIII*, ff. 112^{vo}-113^{vo} (f. 113^{ro}))

Either Riccius was unaware of the plight of the Portuguese Jewish *marranos*, after the repeal of the Bull of Pardon on 23 May 1536 and the associated constitution of an Inquisition in Portugal, or he was unaware of Didacus's Judaism. In fact, in 1535 Didacus had just managed to leave Portugal in time, before the re-imposition of restrictions on *marrano* emigration¹³.

On the other hand, in his letter to Giovio of 1547 — the year of the papal bull *Meditatio cordis* (16 July) giving free reign to the Inquisition in Portugal — Didacus was quite explicit about the worsening persecution there and the resultant mass emigration of Jewish *marranos* to Antwerp via London, in which he took part, together with his father, mother, and at least one, if not two, brothers¹⁴. The bitter circumstances and consequences of his enforced exile are also a prominent theme in both his early and late poetic collections — in particular, in the long lament of his “De exilio suo”, one of his late manuscript elegies dedicated to the Ragusan Domenico Slatarich (1556-1607), when the latter was rector of Padua University (from 1579 onwards)¹⁵. In a printed gloss to one of the poems in his *Cato minor* (1596), Didacus even revealed that in 1535 it had been his father who had insisted that he leave (like Vergil's Meliboeus) the “Patriae fines et dulcia rura” of Portugal¹⁶. In his 1547 letter to Giovio he likewise indicated that he had again been obliged to interrupt his studies (in Leuven), when his father, who had left a huge fortune behind in Portugal, and was wary of the arbitrariness of legal redress, eventually decided in Antwerp to cut his losses, uprooting the family yet again, and obliging them to

¹³ Cf. C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York, 1959), pp. 70-71.

¹⁴ For documentary evidence on his brother, Jacob Kohen, and other relations with him abroad, see J. Tadič, *Jevreji u Dubrovniku do polovine XVII stoljetča* (Sarajevo, 1937), pp. 306-7; Santos Carvalho, “De Évora a Ragusa”, p. 91; Costa Ramalho, “Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus”, pp. 16-17 (implying a further brother, Isaac). For contrasting poetic evidence from Didacus of an anonymous brother having remained in Évora, see Chersa, *Della vita*, p. 7; Costa Ramalho, “Lúcio, poeta-fantasma, e Luís de Camões”, in *Biblos* 57 (1981), 366-78 (pp. 373-4).

¹⁵ Text published by Appendini, and thence by Chersa (*Della vita*, pp. 4-6) and Ascenso André (ed.), in Pires, *Antologia* (1983), pp. 84-9; also in *Nozze Pardo Roques — Olivetti, Roma, 1 marzo 1885*, private edn., with Italian translation (Pisa, 1884). On Slatarich, see Ab. S. Gliubich di Città Vecchia, *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia* (Vienna, 1856), ad. loc. (pp. 280-82).

¹⁶ Cf. Frei Fortunato, “Diogo Pires”, p. 144; Costa Ramalho, “Diogo Pires, Évora e o Algarve”, in *Humanitas* 31-2 (1979-80), 235-8 (pp. 236-7). The allusion is to Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1.3.

follow him to Italy; tragically, Didacus's mother died on the journey, far from her native home:

Pater itaque meus... iudiciorum aleam consulto abhorrens Antverpia relictā, ultro in Italiam cum familia venit, amplissimis apud Lusitanos opibus relictis. Huic ego dum, ut par est, comes individuus adhaereo, necessario humanitatis studia deserere coactus sum, maxime cum in ea peregrinatione matrem amiserim(!) faeminam lectissimam, et super omnes matres mei amantem. Cuius ego decessum eo molestius tuli, quo integra adhuc fortuna in patrio solo apud suos ei expirare non contigerit¹⁷.

("Didacus Pyrrhus Paulo Iovio" [1547], from MS Modena est. Lat. 174, f. 161^{vo} [cf. Kolenditch, *Nekoliko Pesama*, p. 16])

The presence of Didacus's family with him in exile is corroborated by other pieces of external evidence. In his history of the Collegium Trilingue of Leuven, Henry de Vocht associated Didacus Pyrrhus with "the Pirez, or Piris, family, Portuguese merchants, who has settled at Antwerp"¹⁸. Similarly, Andrea Balletti, writing on the immigration of the Jews into the territories of the d'Este family, and the development of their own separate legal administration in Ferrara, noted a "Promissio pro Ducali camera" issued jointly on 24 December 1548 by "Domino Jacob Abravaneli [of the prominent Jewish Ferrarese family, Abrabanel], et illis de Pyrris nationis Lusitaniae [at least two members of the Pires family, perhaps Didacus and his father]"¹⁹.

Above all, there is the surviving testimony of Didacus's will, made in 1597-99 in the somewhat less enlightened Republic of Ragusa. It indicates the joint presence there of a brother, Jacob, and a nephew, Isaia, and suggests the existence of a developed family circle within

¹⁷ A classical elegiac *topos*: see especially Tibullus, *Eleg.*, 1.3; cf. Tucker, "Ulysses and Jason", pp. 388-89, for comparison with Du Bellay's Roman poems of homesickness, in French and Latin.

¹⁸ H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, 4 vols (Louvain, 1951-55), III (1954), 419, 419n. De Vocht's suggestion is corroborated by the arguments of Costa Ramalho ["Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus", pp. 16-17], which link Didacus to a possible nephew, Abraham Kohen, born in Antwerp (1548), as well as to the Mendes family based in Antwerp [cf. C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 136-7] — of whom the powerful Gracia Mendes was also to be resident in Ferrara and Constantinople [cf. Roth, *History of the Jews in Italy*, p. 301] — and which also deduce a family relation to Amatus Lusitanus, who published his *Index Dioscoridis* of 1536 in Antwerp, under his real family name latinized, "Joannes Rodricus Casteli Albi".

¹⁹ A. Balletti, *Gli Ebrei e gli Estensi* (1st edn. 1930; Bologna, 1969), p. 79n; on the Abrabanel family, cf. Roth, *History of the Jews in Italy*, pp. 302-3.

Ragusa's Jewish community²⁰. If the Ragusan Senate's rejection in 1558 of the Jewish Amatus Lusitanus shows that St Blasius's city was perhaps less congenial than ducal Ferrara (where Amatus had taught medicine at the invitation of the d'Estes), this does not seem to have discouraged Didacus from establishing himself in Ragusa with his family. In the event, it was only in 1572, as the record of the *Consilium minus* shows, that Didacus, along with four other Jewish physicians, was granted an official dispensation "ex causis rationalibus" "palam in publicum ire, stare et negociari sine berettis croceis seu rubeis"²¹. This was at last an alleviation from the notorious stipulations of Paul IV's bull of 1555.

In contrast with the rather euphemistic and vague communications we have noted between himself and members of the literary circle at Ferrara such as Giralaldi and Riccius, Didacus in 1552 made his Judaism totally apparent to a youthful protector in Ancona, just as he had done in 1547 to Paolo Giovio. In Ancona, Luisa del Monte, Pope Julius III's sister had married into the de Nobili family, and it was through an ostensible address "ad..., ac iuxta humanissimum Dominum Vincen-tium" her son, nephew to Julius, that the Jewish Amatus Lusitanus, was able obliquely to present a herbal concoction for the pope in *Curatio XXXI* of his *Curationum... centuria secunda* (Venice 1552). Didacus Pyrrhus followed suit in 1552, by tutoring, and seeking protection through, Julius's greatnephew, Roberto de Nobili, also in Ancona. Roberto, a child prodigy, was soon to be made a cardinal in December 1553, then Vatican Librarian (by Paul IV) in 1555, and eventually a Saint, after an exemplary life, which ended with his premature death at just eighteen years of age in January 1559²².

In his letter which he addressed on Didacus's behalf to his father's agent in Rome on 20 May 1552, the twelve-year-old Roberto expressed a fervent admiration for the already famous Greek and Latin scholar and poet, as well as the touching hope that by helping him, and perhaps even converting him, he might be assured of his continuing company

²⁰ See Taditch; Santos Carvalho; Costa Ramalho, loc. cit. in n. 14, above.

²¹ See *Consilium minus* LI (1572-1573) 15': 19 Martii 1572, quoted in Kolenditch, "Nekoliko pesama", p. 45n..

²² See B. Naro, *Vita del venerabil servo di Dio cardinale Roberto Nobili, bibliotecario della Santa Romana Chiesa, pronepote del sommo pontefice Giulio III* (Urbino, 1728); cf. Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 235-6, for the further link with Joachim Du Bellay in Rome.

and services. Most precociously of all, he evinced a lucid, yet discreet, understanding of Didacus's predicament as a "circonciso" (and thus, patently relapsed) Portuguese *marrano*, with the attendant dangers from the Inquisition — witness the later plight in 1556 of the Portuguese Jews of Ancona itself, when they lost the papal guarantee of safe-conduct; Roberto was alive to Didacus's need for such a guarantee of safe-conduct in Rome, something Didacus had managed to obtain before in many other Italian cities²³:

Esso [M. Didaco Pirro Portuguese] desideria, per esser circonciso, aver' un salvo condotto da N[ostra] S[antità] di potere stare in Roma a suo piacimento, senza pericolo dell' Inquisizione, siccome egli per le sue virtù l'ha ottenuto in molte Città d'Italia²⁴.

*

However, before we follow Didacus on his continuing odyssey in parallel with Amatus Lusitanus and Joachim Du Bellay, and before we draw some conclusions about the similarities and differences between these three writers of exile, the reader is first referred to the Appendix below, where is set out that other *Bibliographical* odyssey of Didacus's literary output now patchily surviving in rare or unique original editions or manuscripts, most of which I have now managed to trace or discover *in situ* in various libraries of Europe.

* * *

B. *Didacus, poet of exile*

Didacus's prolific poetic output over the three periods of his exile in the Low Countries, Italy and Ragusa (see Appendix), should make us aware immediately, as with the case of Du Bellay in Rome, of the fertile, stimulating, nature of his contact with scholars and poets abroad. Giraldi had appreciated this already in his *Dialogi* of 1551. At the same time, the evidence we have of Didacus having travelled and settled in these places together with members of his family should make

²³ Cf. Roth, *History of the Jews in Italy*, p. 300.

²⁴ As quoted in Naro, *Vita*, p. 10.

us wary too of simply thinking of him as a solitary Wandering Jew — an appellation more apt, perhaps, for Amatus Lusitanus, with whom he had faced similar persecution and shown similar fortitude; in his “iusiurandum” of Thessalonika, where he died, Amatus had declared his medical vocation to be for him above all family and other considerations.

Didacus was not a solitary Odysseus either, even though that was a literary image that he, with Giraldi, liked to cultivate — as indeed Du Bellay did with Jean Dorat in their poetic exchanges between Rome and Paris²⁵. The man who in his Ferrara *Carmina* of 1545 was able to tease his friend Aldus by playfully applying to him a pseudo-moralizing “Ulyssis, et Syrenum Fabula” (pp. 48-9), was also able later in his *Cato minor* of 1592 to sum up his own whole poetic career in one quintessential distich entitled *Odissaea*:

Alter habet pugnas, & tristia funera regum.
Hic canit errantem per freta longa virum.

Indeed, even with his choice of liminary verse in the early days at Leuven Didacus seems already to have been preparing this image of a wanderer. His verses in Gemma Phrysius’s *Apiani Cosmographiae* (Antwerp, 1539), stress the potential for the widest travel in such a small book. Even his contribution to Rutger Rescius’s *Erasmi epitaphia* (Lovanii, 1537) lamented not just Erasmus’s death as the death of Holland’s chief glory (“En iacet Hollandi gloria prima soli”), but also the fact of his body mouldering in a foreign soil (“En iacet Helvetiae putre cadaver humo”). The same Rescius’s *Euripidis Andromache* of 1537 was even graced by a poem of Didacus on the “remedies against the assaults of Fortune to be sought from Tragedy”. A preoccupation with fortitude is suggested here that anticipates the close of Didacus’s Ragusan verse-epistle *Ad Paulum* (Manutium) (Mantua, 1563), which is a lesson for one “qui sapit, et non vult fortunae ludus haberi” (f. D1^{vo}).

More humorously, in the *Cato minor*, we find a letter to a Portuguese friend Antonio Suarez which Didacus wrote from Liège on 26 April 1536 on his way to Leuven; horrified by the cold (he can hardly hold his pen) and by the heavy snow, he waxes nostalgic for the warm spring of Portugal, and comments, with a wry echo of Achilles’s bitter words from the halls of the Dead to the still living Odysseus (*Odyssey*, 11),

²⁵ Tucker, *The Poet’s Odyssey*, pp. 48-51, and *passim*.

“sane ut est in fabulis Homericis, Sutrinam illic aperire quam hic regnare malim” (p. 130). Years later he would use the same device of complaining about the cold and the attendant difficulty of writing, in order to create a sense of geographical distance, in a liminary epistle for his 1583 *Encomiastes... ad Thomam Natalem*, a Ragusan friend in Cracow.

Now, it is this created sense of distance, of geographical space traversed, of separation in space or time, that is the hallmark of all Didacus’s poetic collections, as it is of Du Bellay’s French and Latin Roman poetry. Liminary epistles, or poems, to or from absent friends (or distant printers) characterize the works of 1545, 1563, and 1582 in Ferrara and Ragusa, whilst the great *Cato minor* of 1592 and 1596 is addressed to none other than the schoolteachers of Lisbon; at the end of his life, then, Didacus had finally followed Riccius’s advice *circa* 1544-45 to dedicate a major work to those left behind in Portugal. Even the unpublished *Elegiarum libri III* are dedicated to Domenico Slatarich as University Rector in distant Padua.

In short, Didacus cultivated the positive Homeric image of an Odysseus *polytropos*, which Giraldis had given him in his *Dialogi* — an image sustained and amplified by the great number of topographical poems on foreign cities or kings (mainly of Spain and Portugal) which lend a cosmopolitan feel to the ostensibly moralizing *Cato minor*. The collection’s orthodoxy is even guaranteed at the very opening by a letter from Frater Eusebius, the Carmelite Inquisitor at Leuven — an irony indeed for one who had fled the Inquisition in Portugal to take refuge in Leuven, and was now addressing his compatriots back in Lisbon.

Yet Didacus knew how to leaven his work with the note of personal authenticity — witness the epistolary poem in his *Carmina* from Ferrara to his nephew “Didacus Vassaeus” described as still engaged in literary studies (as Didacus had been) in Salamanca (pp. 23-9). Indeed, he seems to have been able, even more than Du Bellay, to exploit the fundamental ambiguity between the biographical fact of travel (and in Didacus’s particular case, of exile), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, its literary treatment as a theme, redolent of the nostalgic Tibullus, the exiled Ovid, the wandering Odysseus, and even, the carping Horace²⁶.

As such, he can be situated midway between the highly literary Du

²⁶ See Tucker, *The Poet’s Odyssey*, *passim*; and id., “Ulysses and Jason”, *passim*.

Bellay, whom he probably met in Rome, and the fellow traveller, physician and Jew, Amatus Lusitanus, whose writing, though stylish, was necessarily factual, as Amatus categorically assures us in his moving “*iusiurandum*” at the end of his autobiographical *Curationum medicinalium ... centuriae*.

Amatus Lusitanus is different in another respect too. If in his medical case-writings he does not share the same literary game — the same ambiguity — as a Du Bellay or a Didacus (even though he may have collaborated with the latter in his work on Dioscorides), it is also true to say from his “*iusiurandum*” that he continued his travels to the very end, in pursuit of his vocation, indifferent to domestic affairs, to the vagaries of Fortune — indeed, even to the inconveniences of travel itself — showing fortitude worthy of the whole treatise of Petrus Alcyonius on exile. Didacus, on the other hand, seems to have achieved an altogether different balance as an exile and poet. It is not just that his enthusiasm for Ragusa expressed in his 1563 *Epistola ad Paulum* contrasts markedly with the disillusion and criticisms that preface Amatus’s 1560 Ragusan *centuria Curationum*. It is rather that Didacus, who in the end spent half his life in Ragusa, in the proximity of family as well as friends, seems to have made that city his *home*. Indeed, by so doing he actually fulfilled Giraldi’s earlier tactful speculation to him in the 1551 *Dialogi*, “*quanta maiora, et meliora faceres, si otiosam pacatamque ageres vitam*”. The great collections written, compiled, and published, in and from Didacus’s second home, Ragusa, show Giraldi to have been utterly right.

Diogo Pires, or Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, or Iacobus Flavius Eboensis, may have been true both to life and to poetry in his moving, elegiac, Tibullan lament on the tragic deaths of his mother in Italy and of Amatus in Thessalonika — both far from home and, like Erasmus, lying in a foreign soil — but it may also be true that Isaia Kohen’s supreme literary fiction was his own epitaph:

Didacus hic situs est Eborā procul urbe, domoque;
Non licuit patrio condere membra solo.
At tu sive legis portum, seu littore funem
Diripis, aeternum, nauta, precare vale²⁷.

— yet this was also his supreme poetic fact.

²⁷ Reported (fictionally) by Didacus himself at the end (vv. 95-8) of his “*De exilio suo: scripsit Novae oppido Dalmatiae Hispanica clade nobilissimo*”, from the MS *Elegiarum libri III ad Dominicum Slatarichium*; text in Chersa, *Della vita*, pp. 4-6 (p. 6), and Pires, *Antologia*, ed. Ascenso André, pp. 84-89 (p. 88).

APPENDIX: *The chronological sequence and present location of the works of Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus*[†]

I. *First period* (1535-c.1540(?)): England, Low Countries and France (London, Liège, Antwerp, Leuven, Paris)

- *1(i) In *D. Erasmi Roterodami epitaphia, per eruditiss. aliquot viros Academiae Lovanien. edita* (Lovanii, ex officina Rutgeri Rescii, Men. Mart. 1537)

[Brussels KB, II 19.067 A 1 LP]

Nijhoff & Kronenberg 2843; F. Leite de Faria, *Estudos Bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época* (Lisboa, 1977), no. 371

(a) *deploratio* on E.'s death and that of the Graces, Muses, and Pallas (f. A1^{vo})

(b) lament on E.'s death and burial in a foreign soil (ff. A2^{vo}-3^{ro})

(c) description of E.'s tomb (ff. A3^{ro}-4^{ro})

(d) 3 short epitaphs: 2 Greek (f. A3^{ro}) / 1 Latin-Greek (f. A4^{ro})

(e) "Ioannis Varenii [J. van der Varen, D.P.L.'s tutor of languages] Epitaphium" [2 elegiac distichs: *inc.* Hic Varenne, iaces, iacet simul Attica tecum] (f. A4^{ro})

[details from H. de Vocht, *History of... the Collegium Trilingue*, III, 419-21; R. Hoven, *Bibliographie de trois auteurs de grammaires grecques contemporains de Nicolas Clénard*, Livres-Idees-Société (Série in-8°), 7 (Aubel, 1985), p. 40]

- 1(ii) In *Catalogi duo operum D. Erasmi Roterdami ab ipso conscripti, et digesti...* (Antwerpiae, apud viduam Martini Caesaris, expensis Ioannis Cocci, circiter Calen. Maias / Augu. 1537) [reproducing 1(i), (a)-(d)]

[Cambridge - Emmanuel College S.5.5.64, Trinity Coll. II.12.159(2), Gonville & Caius Coll. G.22.7(2), UL Syn. 8.52.5(2)]

NK 787 / 2858 and Faria 370 (listing further copies); H.M. Adams,

[†] I would like to thank Prof. Gilbert Tournoy and Prof. Dirk Sacré for their invaluable comments and suggestions in the compilation of this bio-bibliographical appendix.

* indicates not seen by me personally.

Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1967), E 515/516

- (a) "D. Erasmi Epitaphium" [4 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Postquam importuno fato consumptus Erasmus] (f. N6^{ro})
- (b) "In Erasmus Roterodamum Epitaphium" [15 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Si qua fuit lachrymis mors digna perennibus unquam] (ff. N6^{vo}-7^{ro})
- (c) "Aliud per eundem" [17 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Ecquis in hoc recubat tumulo? divinus Erasmus] (ff. N7^{vo}-8^{ro})
- (d) "Eiusdem in eundem Epitaphium Graecum" [2 eleg. dist.: *inc.* ἄθαντος σοφίαν...] + "Aliud eiusdem" [1 dist.: *inc.* ἐνθάδε κεῖται ἀνὴρ...] (f. N7^{vo}) / "Aliud eiusdem" [4 Latin-Greek eleg. dist.: *inc.* Quod bonus atque pius fueris, quod doctus Erasme] (f. N8^{ro})

[Edited by C. Ascenso André, "D. Pires e a lembrança de Erasmo", *Humanitas* 41-42 (1990), 81-98.]

*2. In *Euripidis Andromache* (Lovanii, ex off. Rutgeri Rescii, Men. Aug. 1537)

NK 2987

- (a) "Ad lectorem" [liminary verses: *inc.* Nosse cupis varios casus] (f. A1^{vo})
- (b) "Eiusdem de remediis adversus Fortunae impetus e Tragodia petendis, ad Hieronymum Franciscum Carmen elegiacum" (ff. A2^{ro}-A4^{ro})

[see De Vocht, III, 420]

*3. In *Demosthenis Orationes Olynthicae tres, latinae factae. Interprete Petro Clobardo Scoundykio* (Antwerpiae, apud Georgium Bontium, 1538)

[London BL 11391.b.87(2)]

NK 697 (listing a further copy)

— "Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus ex tempore ludebat" (f. 24^{ro})

[details from NK 697, and thanks to Prof. G. Tournoy for drawing my attention to this]

4. In *Petri Apiani Cosmographia, per Gemmam Phrysium... restituta. Additis de [e]adem re ipsius Gemmae Phry[sii] libellis...* [f. 54^{ro} ff.:

“Vsus annuli astronomici per Aegidium Coppenium”], (cura et impensis Arnoldi Berckman[n]i, 1539).

[Cambridge UL Bb*.4.17(2) + R*.4.5(1)(D); London BL 10007.g. 24; Paris BN Rés. V.889].

Adams A 1278. Listing further copies: Index Aureliensis 106.429; F. van Ortroy, *Bibliographie de l'œuvre de Pierre Apian* (1902; reprint, Amsterdam 1963), no. 30; Faria 381

(a) “Carmen” [5 elegiac distichs: *inc.* Vis urbes, vis mille locos, vis oppida mille]; “Distichon” [*inc.* Exiguo vastum spacio lustrarier orbem] (f. A1^{vo})

(b) “Carmen. Loquitur Liber” [12 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Gemma mihi est author, quis nescit nomina Gemmae?] (f. 62^{ro})

[Cf. De Vocht, II, 557n.; III, 420]

Numerous re-editions: Antwerp 1540, 1545, 1550, 1553, 1564, 1574 + Paris 1551, 1553 + Cologne 1574 (all containing (a)-(b); Antwerp 1584 (containing (a) only).

[see Faria 381, 391, 430, 464; Adams A 1279-1288; Index Aureliensis 106. 430, 441, 444, 446, 450, 452, 456-7, 460-2, 466-8; Ortroy, *Apian*, 31(32), 36, 38-9, 41-2, 44, 47, 50-54, 59-61; NK 126; Bibl. Belgica A 33-34, 37-39, 42, 222-24, 227]

5. In *Arithmeticae practicae methodus facilis, per Gemmam Frisium...* (Antuerpiae, imprimendum curabat Gregorius Bontius, typis Aegidii Coppenii Diesthen., 1540)

[Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College K.3.32(3); London BL 8504.bb.50; Paris BN Rés. V.888]

Adams G 377; NK 970 and F. van Ortroy, *Bio-Bibliographie de Gemma Frisius, fondateur de l'école belge de géographie, de son fils Corneille et de ses neveux les Arsenius*, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques — Collection in-8°, 2^e série XI,2 (Bruxelles, oct. 1920), no. 48 (listing further copies)

— “Carmen” [2 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Utilis, et multa quòd plenus fruge Libellus]; “aliud” [3 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Dum numerum formas, praeceptaque certa recenset] (f. 38^{ro})

[Cf. De Vocht, locc. cit.]

6. In *Quinti Calabri derelictorum ab Homero libri quatuordecim, Iodoco Velaraeo interprete. Coluti Thebani Raptus Helenae eodem interprete. Editio Prima* (Antuerpiae, apud Ioannem Steelsium, 1539)
[Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College M.6.47(1)]
Adams Q 78; NK 1776; Bibl. Belg. Q 2; Faria 384 (listing further copies)

— “Carmen [in laudem Quinti Calabri]” [30 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Iratum Acacidem [*sic*] magnus describit Homerus] (ff. 205^{vo}-206^{ro})

[Ms also indicated by Frei Fortunato, in A. de P. de Faria, *Portugal e Italia*, vol. IV (Leorne, 1905), p. 151, who records it at the head of a later edition of the Quintus Calaber published Lyon *apud Seb. Gryphium*, 1541 (= MS Vat. lat. 8939, f. 1^{ro-vo}[fly-leaf])

II. *Second period* (c.1540(?)-1557): Italian cities (Venice, Florence, Ferrara, Ancona; Rome, Pesaro, Ferrara)

1. *Didaci Pyrrhi Lusitani Carminum Liber Unus* (Ferrariae, apud Franciscum Rubrium, 1545)
[Roma, Bib. Vall. S. Borr. Q.V.191(39) + Bib. Ang. 9.3.27bis(29); Venezia Bib. Marc. Misc. 622.7 + 1225.1 + 2012.5; Porto BPM P(4)-A-15]
Faria 429

- 2(i) In *Hieronymi Phalethi Savonensis poematum libri septem* (Apud Ferrariam, per Franciscum Rubeum [de Valentia], 1546)
[Ferrara Bib. Ariost. M.1.4,5; London BL 1070.e.11 bearing MS dedication “Alberto Lollio Phalethus D.D. +”; G1-8 defective.]

(a) *Lib. VI*:

“Ad Gaspara Sardum et Hier. Phalethum amicos” [7 eleg. distich.: *inc.* Gaspar, et antiqua Ligurum de gente Phalethus] (f. 96^{ro} [ff. 125^{vo}-126^{ro}])

(b) *Lib. VII*:

“De Lycoride et Amore ad Phalethum” [17 hendec.: *inc.* Ornabat radio comam Lycoris] (ff. 105^{vo}-106^{ro} [f. 131^{vo}])

“Ad Cynthium Gyr[dum]” [9 hendec.: *inc.* Quantum Lusiacum Gyralde vatem] (f. 106^{ro-vo} [not in 2(ii)])

“Ad Phalethum” [22 hendec.: *inc.* Praedixin fore quod vides Phalethe?] (ff. 106^{vo}-107^{ro} [f. 132^{ro}])

“Ad Amicam” [D.P.L.?] [11 hendec.: *inc.* Ni me vis propero puella cursu] (f. 107^{vo} [f. 132^{vo}])

“De eadem” [D.P.L.?] [10 hendec.: *inc.* Furtim basiolum meae puellae] (ff. 107^{vo}-108^{ro} [f. 132^{vo}])

“Ad Phalethum Pyrrhus” [19 hendec.: *inc.* Servatus tumidi maris procellis] (ff. 109^{vo}-110^{ro} [f. 133^{vo}])

“Ala” [10 verses: *inc.* His amor, his crudelis amor, his utitur alis] (f. 110^{ro} [f. 134^{ro}])

“Alia” [12 verses: *inc.* Quo tu saeve puer? quo nigras induis alas?] (f. 110^{vo} [f. 134^{ro}])

“Alia. Loquitur Phryne” [14 verses: *inc.* Quam tibi dum veneri non cederet aemula iuventa] (ff. 110^{vo}-111^{ro} [f. 134^{vo}])

[D.P.L.’s poems re-edited and augmented in 2(ii) below; cf. P. Kolenditch, “Nekoliko pesama”, *Zbornik Istorije Književnosti* 2 (Beograd, 1961), 1-49 (pp. 4-13)]

2(ii) In *Hieronimi Faleti De Bello Sicambrico libri IIII. et eiusdem alia poemata* (Aldus [Manutius], Venetiis, 1557)

[copies seen by me: Ferrara Bib. Ariost. M.1.6,22; Roma Bib. Ap. Vat. Ross. 4043 + Ald. II.58 + Ald. II.59; Cambridge, Trinity College N.3.22, King’s Coll. M.13.14; London BL 1069.b.16(1) + 78.e.28; Paris BN Rés.m.Yc.677]

Adams F 132

— “Ad Faletum” [*inc.* Quis unquam bone crederet Faleti] (f. 130^{ro} [not in 2(i)])

3. In MS Modena Bib. Est. Lat. 228 (α.W.2,11)

— 2 poems on Gerolamo da Carpi’s 1547 painting of Anna d’Este [5 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Cuius opus? Carpi: quatenam dea virgine forma] / [2 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Desine mirari si viva expressa figura] (f. 322^{vo})

[cf. G. Bertoni, “Umanisti Portoghesi a Ferrara (Hermico e Didaco)” in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 114 (1939), 46-9 (pp. 48-9), and Kolenditch, “Nekoliko pesama”, p. 5]

- *4. MS in copy of *Gasparis Sardi Epistolarum liber...* (Florentiae, Laurentius Torrentinus, 1549)
 [Modena Bib. Est. Z. 7,10]
 — “Eidem salutem dicit” [7 eleg. dist.: *inc.*: Qualis apis studiosa thimos populator hyemeti] (on fly-leaves)
 [see Bertoni, “Umanisti”, p. 49n.; Kolenditch, “Nekoliko pe-sama”, p. 13]
5. In *Lilii Gregorii Gyraldi Ferrariensis Dialogi duo de Poëtis nostrorum temporum...* (Florentiae, 1551) [many libraries]
 — “Lilio Greg[orio] Gyr[aldo]” [10 hendec.: *inc.* Mi Lili pater, et magister oro] (p. 113)
6. In MS Ferrara Bib. Ariost. Cl.I.N.70 “Ferrariensium et exterorum ad Ferrarienses carmina mss. a Io. Barotti Ferrarien. collecta 1764” (2 vols.; 18th cent.), II [poems copied from another MS (cf. copyist’s note, f. 54^{ro}: “Ita in codice”) as yet unlocated]
 [Cf. P. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (London / Leiden, 1963-), V (1990), 539]
 (a) “Ad (Lilium Gregorium) Gyraldum seniore” [2 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Quae tibi Caesareis bellaria cognita mensis] (f. 21^{ro})
 (b) “Idem ad eundem” [29 hendec.: *inc.* Dum te quadruplici podagra nodo] (ff. 21^{ro}-22^{ro})
 (c) “De Poetis Ferrariensibus” [16 hendec.: *inc.* Andinam revocat tubam Guarinus] (f. 51^{ro-vº})
 (d) “Ad Cynthium Gyraldum” [63 hendec.: *inc.* Vivebam vacuus Gyalde curis] (ff. 51^{vo}-53^{ro})
 (e) “Ad Alfonsum puerum Herculis ducis F.” [6 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Magne puer, magnos olim ducture triumphos] (f. 53^{ro}) [also in MS Siena, Bib. Com., K.V. 31, f. 83^{vo}, under a different title (“Ad Franciscum Cosmi Tuscorum Regis Filium Heredem”), with further variants in vv. 4,10]
 (f) “Ferrini Ferrariensis epitaphium” [2 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Aureus hic Ferrinus erat, quem petra iacentem] (f. 53^{ro-vº}) [also in III.3(ii), p. 221, with variants in v. 4.
 (g) “In picturam principis Annae” [2 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Num dea, quae dextra Carpi depicta fide] (f. 53^{vo}),
 with
 “Aliud” [2 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Desine mirari si vivax pressa figura] (f. 53^{vo}) [see II.3],

with

“Aliud” [3 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Magnanime Alcida, et diva sata virgo Renata] (f. 53^{vo}),

with

“Aliud” [5 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Cuius opus?...] (f. 54^{ro}) [as in II.3]

(h) “Ad (Ioannem Bapt.) Gyraldum Iuniorem. Idem Pyrrhus” [23 hendec.: *inc.* Salve dulce meum decus Gyralde] (f. 54^{ro-vo})

(i) “Ad Olympiam Moratam” [15 eleg. dist.: Si faciem Morata tuam contemplor, in ipsa] (ff. 54^{vo}-55^{vo})

[For traces of other Italian MS copies of D.P.L., cf. Kristeller, *Iter*, I (1963), 153 [= III.2(ii), below], 324, 378-9 [letter noted above, n. 10]; II (1967), 168, 346 [MS poem noted in I.6.]

Additional remarks

A. In MS Milano, Bib. Ambr., E 37 (“Epistolae latinae ad Manutios et alios”; cf. Kristeller, I, 324), material by D.P.L. [for the moment unidentifiable due to closure of the library].

B. In MS Siena, Bib. Com., K.V. 31 (cf. Kristeller, II, 168), various unpublished poems by D.P.L. [first discussed by C. Ascenso André in his doctoral thesis (Coimbra, 1990), now under press as a book, *Mal de ausência — o canto do exílio na Lírica do humanismo português*; I am grateful to the author for this information]. The following may be attributed to D.P.L. with certainty:

(a) s.t. [10vv: *inc.* Dii, Deeque quibus virente Lauro (in v. 4, author named as “Didacus”)] (f. 83^{ro})

(b) “Ad Franciscum Cosmi Tuscorum Regis Filium Heredem” [see II.6(e)] (f. 83^{vo})

(c) “Ad Nicandrum Toletanum” [54vv: *inc.* Nicander patrium Tagum (*in fine*, “Didacus Lusitanus”)] (ff. 86^{ro}-86bis^{ro})

(d) “Tristani Cunii Lusitani Elogium” [14vv: *inc.* Talis eras Tristane tui dum munera Regis (*in fine*, “Didacus Lusitanus”)] (f. 86bis^{vo})

(e) “Ad Alfonsum Lancastrium Heroa Lusitanum” [56vv: *inc.* Ecquam ti citharam mihi (*in fine*, “Didacus Lusitanus”)] (f. 86ter^{ro-vo})

III. *Third period* (1558-99): settlement in Ragusa; journeys to (and back from) Constantinople and Jerusalem

1. *Ad Paulum* [Manutium] (Apud Valentem Panizzam Mantuanum, Ducalem Typographum, 1563)
[Roma Bib. Ap. Vat. R.I.IV.1199(4) (only known copy)]
 - (a) Verse epistle to Paolo Manuzio in hexameters praising Ragusa [*inc.* Sic tranquilla meae contingant Paule senectae; *expl.* Qui sapit, et non vult fortunae ludus haberi] (ff. A1^{ro}-D1^{vo})
 - (b) "Musonii Cremonensis epitaphium" [4 hexam.: *inc.* Iam moriens, iam mutus olor, iam deside lingua] (f. D1^{vo})

[Cf. D. Nevenitch-Grabovats, "Iz Poezije Didaka Pira", in *Zbornik Jevrejski Istorijski Musej* (Belgrade, 1971), 253-90 (pp. 271-90)]
- 2(i) *De illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant* ([Aldus Manutius, Venetiis] 1582)
[Roma, Bib. Ap. Vat. Ald. II.106, Bib. Ang. p. 4.58(8) + c.3.2(6) + [ss]-11-30(1); London BL 161.n.28]
- 2(ii) *De Illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant, Anno 1582. Cal Ian. Ad amplissimum Senatam Rhacusanum. Didacus Pyrrhus.* (Cracoviae, [1582])
[Copenhagen KB 70.-415 4^{to}; MS Firenze, Bibl. Naz., fondo conventi soppressi J.II: 46(290), ff. 323(189)^{to}-334(200)^{vo} = printed copy with first and second parts inverted.
including in addition to 2(i):
 - "Ad nobilissimum ac prudentissimum D. Michaellem Mensium, Senatorem gravissimum, et aerarii III. virum, &c. In obitum venerabilis D. Maurii Vetrarii, Poetae Illyrici, &c." [34 eleg. dist.: *inc.* Saevit hyems, et stat Sergus nive candidus alta] (ff. B3^{ro}-4^{ro})
with
De Illustrissima urbe Rhacusana. Ad R.D. Thomam Nataleum Rhacusanum, artium et medicinae doctorem, canonicum Cracoviensem, &c Pyrrhus [ff. C2^{ro}-3^{vo} = re-edn. of ff. A7^{vo}-8^{vo} of 2(i)] including, likewise, in addition to 2(i):
 - "Epistola Pyrrhi" [*inc.* Ave suavissime Thoma] (f. C1^{vo})
 - "De urbe Rhacusa ode" [*inc.* Rhacusa princeps urbium, quas Adriae / Hinc inde fluctus alluit] (ff. C3^{vo}-4^{ro})
 - "MNEMOSYNON" [7 hexam.: *inc.* Tollamus puras ad splendida sydera palMAS] (f. C4^{vo})

- 2(iii) *De illustrissima urbe Rhacusana. Ad R.D. Thomam Nataleum Rhacusanum, artium et medicinae doctorem, canonicum Cracoviensem, &c Pyrrhus* ([Cracoviae, 1582])
[Venezia Bib. Marc. Misc. 308.15 (unique copy)]
[= ff. C1^{ro}-C4^{vo} of 2(ii)]
- *2(iv) *Encomiastes carmine elegiaco ad r.ndum D. Thomam Natalem Rhacusanum...* (Cracoviae, in officina Lazari, 1583)
including slightly extended, but now anonymous, version of the “Epistola Pyrrhi” of 2(ii)-(iii)
[described by P. Kolenditch, in *Zbornik Istorije Književnosti* 3 (Beograd, 1962), 211-43 (p. 234)]
- *2(v) *De illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant, Anno MLXXCII. Calend. Ianuar. Ad R.D. Thomam Nataleum Rhacusanum, Artium & Medicinae Doctorem, nec non Canonicum Cracoviensem, &ce.* ([Cracoviae, 1585?]), cf. 2(i)-(ii); includes “Epistola Pyrrhi” of 2(ii)-(iii)
[described by Kolenditch, in *Zbornik* (1962), pp. 234-8]
- 3(i) *Flavii Iacobi Eborensis Cato minor, sive dysticha moralia ad ludi magistros Olyssiponenses. Accessere nova epigrammata, et alia nonnulla eodem auctore. Opus pium et erudiendis pueris adprime necessarium*
(Venetiis, sub signum Leonis, 1592)
[Roma Bib. Ang. [ss]-10-58; Venezia Bib. Marc. 221.c.135; Bergamo, Bib. Civ., Cinquecentine 1,620]
- 3(ii) *F.V.E. Cato Minor...* [augmented edn. of 3(i)] (Venetiis, apud Felicem Valgrisiu, 1596)
[Évora, Bib. Publ., Res. Mazin. 6054; Lisbon, Bib. Ajuda, according to Prof. C. Ascenso André]
- *3(iii) *Cato minor, sive disticha ad ludimagistros Olyssiponenses, partim moralium, et partim non moralium Epigrammatum libri IV. Xenia ad Janum Claudium Rhacusanum. Nomina Portugalliae Regum, et aliquot insignium urbium Hispaniae. Quinque magnorum Regum insignia. Dialogismus inter honestum adolescentem et pudicam virginem,*

Lyrica, Tumuli, illustres familiae Rhacusanae (Venetiis, Apud Felicam Valgrisium, [1596])

[as described by Frei Fortunato, "Diogo Pires", p. 150, and Santos Carvalho, "De Évora a Ragusa", pp. 95-9; the contents correspond to those of 3(ii) and * MS Dubrovnik Bibl. Samostana Male Brace 410 (pp. 59-268) (see Kristeller, *Iter*, V (1990), 435)]

- *4. *Codex sorgianus* "D.P.L. Elegiarum Libri III ad Dominicum Slatarichium Patavinae Scholae Rectorem et Equitem Splendidissimum..." [cf. Chersa, *Della vita*, p. 22]

[located in Historical Institute of Dubrovnik, according to Santos Carvalho, "De Évora a Ragusa", p. 99]

— 32 elegies; 7 epigrams; mutilated poem [c. 400 Virgilian hexameters] "De divo Blasio, rhacusanae reipublicae patrono"

[for traces of other late MS copies in Dubrovnik and Zagreb of the contents of this MS (4.) and of the above editions, or of material relating to D.P.L., see Kristeller, *Iter*, V (1990), 430, 432, 433, 435, 436, 437-8, 442, 452]

Dirk SACRÉ

LE POÈTE NÉO-LATIN GIROLAMO FALETTI († 1564)¹

“Diversas orbis partes circuevit ad capessendas bonas artes; et versus quoque Latinos ... et Hetruscos vernaculos commodissime pangit neque eum destituit utraque soluta oratio”: voilà comment, dans le dialogue *De poetis suorum temporum* de Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, Bartolomeo Ricci de Ferrare parle vers 1548 à propos de son ami Girolamo Faletti². Jusqu’ici, aucune étude n’a été consacrée à Faletti; la dernière édition d’une de ses œuvres date du milieu du dix-huitième siècle. Ce silence est remarquable, ne fût-ce que parce que les poésies de Faletti sortirent des presses de Paul Manuce, à Venise, et qu’on en trouve des exemplaires dans les grandes bibliothèques européennes³. Ce silence, est-il injuste? Nous oserions répondre par l’affirmative: bien que, à notre avis, le nom de Faletti ne mérite pas de figurer parmi ceux des meilleurs poètes latins du Cinquecento, ses vers ne manquent pas d’habileté technique, parfois même de grâce. Mais, les qualités intrinsèques de sa poésie, nous ne les aborderons qu’en passant; en effet, ce silence, que nous venons de mentionner, exige plutôt que l’on essaie de retracer la vie de l’homme et d’esquisser à grands traits les œuvres qu’il a composées. Nous ferons donc un premier tour d’horizon. Le dossier comporte encore beaucoup de lacunes et d’énigmes, notamment d’ordre chronologique, mais il nous semble qu’il ouvre de nouvelles perspecti-

¹ Texte légèrement adapté d’une conférence faite pendant le huitième congrès international d’études néo-latines (Copenhague, 11-17 août 1991).

² Cf. Lillii Gregorii Gyraldi Ferrariensis *Opera omnia duobus tomis distincta...* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1629), II, pp. 566-567. L’ouvrage a été publié à Florence en 1551; pour la date à laquelle le dialogue aurait eu lieu, cf. A. da Costa Ramalho, “Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, poeta e humanista”, in Id., *Para a história do Humanismo em Portugal*, Textos humanísticos portugueses, 6 (Coimbra, 1988), pp. 121-137 (p. 131).

³ Nous nous servirons surtout de Hieronymi Faleti *De bello Sicambrico libri IIII. Et eiusdem alia poemata, libri VIII*. Venetiis, M.D.LVII (cf. A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l’imprimerie des Alde ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions* (Paris, 1834³), p. 172). Exemplaires à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, la British Library à Londres, la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek à Munich, la Biblioteca Ariostea à Ferrare et la Bibliothèque Vaticane (trois exemplaires).

ves, enrichissant entre autres nos connaissances des humanistes des Pays-Bas. Faletti a fait plusieurs voyages d'étude; ensuite, lorsqu'il s'était destiné à la diplomatie, il est entré en contact avec des hommes politiques et des humanistes de divers pays; ce cercle de ses connaissances se reflète dans ses œuvres; dans son recueil de poèmes, par exemple, il a incorporé un tas de poésies d'auteurs étrangers, poésies qui sont passées inaperçues. Nous essaierons donc de reconstituer la biographie du poète en tirant profit (avec la circonspection qui s'impose dans ces cas-là) de ses propres œuvres.

On trouvera des notices sommaires sur Girolamo Faletti dans les dictionnaires biographiques tant liguriens que piémontais. Ceci est le résultat d'une double tradition quant au lieu de naissance de notre poète: selon les uns, il est né à Trino dans la province actuelle de Vercelli, en Piémont; selon les autres, il est originaire de Savona⁴. Sur l'année de la naissance, les biographes sont également divisés; il a probablement vu le jour entre 1510 et 1518; Girolamo avait au moins deux frères, dont un, Camillo, est mort jeune⁵. Si Faletti est né à Trino — mais nous n'en avons trouvé aucune preuve — il a dû quitter très jeune sa ville natale pour Savona: dans ses œuvres, aucune mention n'est faite de Trino, tandis que plusieurs poésies sont adressées "Ad Savonenses"⁶ — et on y discerne même quelque amertume de la part de Faletti se sentant sous-estimé parce que, dit-il, "Civibus una suis

⁴ Il était ligurien selon e.a. Chr. Saxus, *Onomasticon litterarium* ..., III (Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1780), p. 646; M. Giustiniani, *Gli scrittori liguri*, 1 (Roma, 1667), pp. 429-435; R. Soprani, *Li scrittori della Liguria, e particolarmente della maritima* ... (Genova, 1667 = (Italice gens, 24), Bologna, 1971), pp. 115-116. Il était piémontais selon e.a. A. Ros-sottus, *Syllabus scriptorum Pedemontii* ... (Monteregali, 1667 = Westmead, 1970), pp. 270-271; G. A. Morano, *Catalogo degli illustri scrittori di Casale e di tutto il ducato di Monferrato* (Asti, 1771 = (Italice gens, 61) Bologna, 1974), pp. 39-40; C. Tenivelli, *Biografia piemontese. Decade seconda* (Torino, 1785), pp. 83-108; O. Derossi, *Scrittori piemontesi, savoiaardi, nizzardi* ... (Torino, 1790 = (Italice gens, 57) Bologna, 1974), p. 180; T. Vallauri, *Storia della poesia in Piemonte* (Torino, 1841), I, pp. 162-165; 287-288; A. Lazzari, "Un umanista romagnolo alla corte d'Ercole II° d'Este: Bartolommeo Ricci da Lugo", *Atti e memorie della Deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, 20 (1914), 3-240 (pp. 147-157); A. Sorbelli, "Faletti Girolamo", in *Enciclopedia italiana* (ediz. 1949), XIV (Roma, 1951), p. 750; L. Chiappini, *La corte Estense alla metà del Cinquecento. I compendi di Cristoforo di Messisburgo* (Ferrara, 1984), pp. 238-239.

⁵ Cf. H. Faletus, *De bello, o.c.*, f. LXX^v (*Monodia in Camillum fratrem carissimum*), vv. 1-2: Ah nimium transacta tuae cito tempora vitae, / ah nimium celeres in tua fata deas! et vv. 17-18 (où Camillo parle): Vos igitur fratres genitorque, o Guide, valet / et mea sub memori condite dicta sinu.

⁶ P. ex. f. XCV^{r-v} et f. XCIX^r.

numquam contenta Savona / extremo quaerit semper ab orbe viros”⁷. En outre, des documents officiels de l’université de Ferrare le disent “Savonensis”⁸; du reste, un ami de Faletti, Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus), écrivit sur “antiqua Ligurum de gente Faletus”⁹ et un autre ami, Bartolomeo Ricci, dit à son sujet: “is enim patriâ Saonensis ex Liguria nobili loco natus”¹⁰. La petite phrase “nobili loco natus” ne doit peut-être pas être prise au pied de la lettre; en tout cas, Girolamo Ruscelli, qui avait entendu Faletti évoquer sa jeunesse, rappelle sa “bassezza di fortuna”¹¹ et la lecture de ses poésies semble confirmer que dans sa jeunesse, Faletti a dû vivre chichement¹². Sa première instruction, il l’a reçue de son père Guido, qui était versé dans la langue latine, et de son grand-père maternel Domenico Mirabelli, qui courtisa également la Muse latine¹³. En 1542, nous trouvons Faletti à Louvain, où il a étudié quelques années, probablement jusqu’en 1544;

⁷ *Ib.*, f. XCV^{r-v}, vv. 1-2. Il est clair que Faletti fait allusion à sa propre personne lorsqu’il déclare que Savona recherche des juristes (vv. 3-4), des poètes latins (5-6) et orateurs (7-10) *extra muros*, tandis que *quod petit intus habet* (vv. 4,8). Bref, *Cur sua despiciat? Lumine caeca suo est* (14).

⁸ Cf. A. Franceschini, *Nuovi documenti relativi ai docenti dello studio di Ferrara nel sec. XVI*, Deputazione provinciale ferrarese di storia patria, serie monumenti, VI (Ferrara, 1970), p. 68 (“Hier. phaletum saonensem”); G. Pardi, *Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI* (Lucca, 1901 = (Athenaeum, 6) Bologna, 1970), p. 144 (“Hier. Phaletus Savonensis filius Guidonis”).

⁹ H. Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., ff. CXXV-CXXXVI^r (*Didaci Pyrrhi Lusitani, ad Gasparum Sardum, & Hieronymum Faletum amicos*), vv. 1-2: Gaspar et antiqua Ligurum de gente Faletus / nomina sunt Pyrrho semper amanda suo.

¹⁰ Cf. L. Gregorius Gyraldus, o.c., l.c.

¹¹ Cité par C. Tenivelli, o.c. (“E ben mi ricordo d’avergli io sentito narrar più volte con che bassezza di fortuna egli era venuto da prima ad abitare in Ferrara, ritornato di Fiandra, ove per alquanti anni aveva studiato a Lovanio ben visto, e amato da tutti per il vivace ingegno, e generoso animo suo...”).

¹² Cf. p.ex. H. Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. CII^r (v. 5); f. LXVIII^r.

¹³ Cf. L. Gregorius Gyraldus, o.c., l.c. Ricci (l’interlocuteur dans le *De Poetis*) dit avoir lu les *utriusque facundiae monumenta* (prose et poésie; rhétorique latine et italienne) de Guido. L’*avus maternus* de Girolamo aurait été un poète Ovidien *perbelle eruditus*. Selon L. Chiappini, o.c., p. 238, Faletti aurait été précepteur dans la famille des Spinola a Gênes. Cela n’est pas impossible si l’on tient compte du fait que le poète (*De bello*, o.c., ff. CXII-CXIII^r) a adressé une poésie à Stefano Spinola, dans laquelle il écrit e.a. (v. 5-13): Si quos dextra beat tua, / debemus tibi, si sollicitudine, / si curis vacui sumus, / si quid Musa modis nobile personat, / quod te detineat suis, / Haec accepimus a te, Stephane, omnia. / Nobis te sine nil datum, / non audemus opus grande nec arduum, / si desit studium tuum. Vraisemblablement, cette activité de Faletti se situerait avant 1542. Pour la famille des Spinola, cf. S. Seidel Menchi, “Passione civile e aneliti Erasmiani di Riforma nel patriziato genovese del primo Cinquecento: Ludovico Spinola”, *Rinascimento*, n.s., 18 (1978), 87-134.

nous reviendrons là-dessus, lorsque nous essaierons de démontrer que Faletti a fréquenté à Louvain le Collège de Busleyden, le fameux *Collegium Trilingue*. De Louvain, Faletti passa à Ferrare, ville qui est devenue sa patrie d'adoption.

A l'université de Ferrare, Faletti a achevé ses études: en 1546, il devint docteur *in utroque iure*: ce grade lui fut conféré le 24 juillet¹⁴ par Andrea Alciato, comme le démontre une oraison de Faletti, délivrée à cette occasion: "Surge tu, Alciati, ... surge atque ista tua auctoritate vere divina Faletum tuum / eo insigni, quo ceteri viri cohonestati sunt, exorna"¹⁵. De 1548 à 1552, nous trouvons le nom de Faletti comme professeur de droit civil à l'université de Ferrare ("ad lecturam feudorum, diebus festis")¹⁶. En même temps, il se voue à la poésie et à l'éloquence latine; en tant que philologue, il entreprend des traductions d'ouvrages classiques. Il se lie d'amitié avec l'élite intellectuelle de Ferrare et attire l'attention du duc Ercole d'Este, qui, à partir de 1548, lui confie des missions diplomatiques: la même année, il prononce l'oraison funèbre pour le roi de Pologne au nom d'Ercole d'Este; en 1550, il se trouve à Rome pour l'élection du pape Jules III, etc.¹⁷ En 1553 ou en 1554, il devient ambassadeur ordinaire du duc de Ferrare près de la république de Venise: il le restera jusqu'à sa mort. Malgré ses occupations qui prennent beaucoup de temps, il participe à la vie littéraire de Venise et de Ferrare. En février 1554, l'humaniste Alberto Lollio, ami de Faletti, sut persuader le comte Alfonso Calcagnini de créer une nouvelle académie à Ferrare, l'Accademia dei Filareti¹⁸. Faletti en devint membre, il fut présent lors du discours d'ouverture de l'académie¹⁹ et y prit la parole à deux reprises, en développant un thème typiquement humaniste: d'abord, il fit l'éloge du célibat; un an plus tard, il s'était marié avec la fille du comte Ercole Calcagnini et, dès lors, loua le mariage²⁰.

¹⁴ Cf. G. Pardi, *o.c.*, p. 144. Dans l'acte on lit que Faletti a étudié à Turin, Avignon, Pavie, Plaisance, Louvain, Padoue, Bologne et Ferrare!

¹⁵ Cf. *Orationes XII Hieronymi Faleti ...* (Venetiis, 1558), ff. 94-97 (*Cum insignia sui doctoratus acciperet*) (f. 97^{r-v}). Cf. A. A. Renouard, *o.c.*, p. 174.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Franceschini, *o.c.*, p. 68, 76, 84.

¹⁷ Cf. *Orationes XII*, *o.c.*, ff. 3-11 (*Oratio in funere Sigismundi Jagellonis Poloniae regis pro Hercule Ferrariensium duce III*); ff. 43-47 (*Ad Iulium III P.M. creatum*); cf. également L. Chiappini, *o.c.*, l.c.

¹⁸ Cf. D. Sacré, "Quaestiunculae Palearianae", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 40 (1991), 206-243 (pp. 206-215).

¹⁹ Cf. A. Lazzari, *o.c.*, pp. 147-157.

²⁰ Cf. *Orationes XII*, *o.c.*, ff. 57-69 (*De coelibatu, ad academicos Ferrarienses*); ff. 70-87 (*De matrimonio, ad academicos Ferrarienses*). F. 70^r: ... uxore ducta ex illustri Calcagni-

Après la mort d'Ercole d'Este (1559), Faletti fut récompensé pour ses services aux ducs de Ferrare et anobli par Alfonso d'Este; ces honneurs lui furent rendus en août 1561²¹; il est donc impossible que Faletti soit mort en 1560, comme on l'a souvent écrit; en réalité, la correspondance de son ami Pigna, professeur d'éloquence et de poésie grecque et latine à l'université de Ferrare, et en même temps secrétaire du duc Alfonso, prouve qu'il est décédé en octobre 1564²².

Les ouvrages principaux de Faletti furent imprimés à Venise par Paul Manuce. Faletti étant devenu ambassadeur dans cette ville, les deux hommes ont très vite conçu de l'amitié l'un pour l'autre. Quelques poèmes de Faletti et deux lettres de Manuce en témoignent: on y lit que les deux humanistes se sont souvent rencontrés²³. En 1556, Manuce a imprimé la première traduction italienne du *De mortuorum resurrectione* de l'apologiste grec Athénagore, traduction de la main de Faletti²⁴. En 1557, Manuce publia les *Poemata* de Faletti, un recueil poétique comptant environ 260 pages. Finalement, en 1558, les *Orationes duodecim* de Faletti sortirent des mêmes presses. Huit de ces oraisons furent prononcées par Faletti en tant qu'ambassadeur, p. ex. *Ad Iulium III P.M. creatum* de 1550 ou *Ad Franciscum Venerium Venetiarum principem* de 1554: il s'agit de morceaux d'éloquence classique qui nous apprennent peu sur l'orateur, si ce n'est qu'il maîtrisa parfaitement le latin; deux oraisons furent tenues devant les membres de l'Accademia dei Filareti — nous y avons déjà fait allusion —; une oraison qui a comme sujet la naissance du Christ est une adaptation latine d'un

niorum familia; selon L. Chiappini, *o.c.*, il s'agit de "Paola, figlia naturale di Ercole Calcagnini", ce qui est confirmé par un épithalame de Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (cf. ci-dessous, note 79).

²¹ Cf. G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* ..., 7, 3 (Milano, 1824), pp. 1397-1405.

²² Cf. R. Baldi, *Giovan Battista Pigna: uno scrittore politico nella Ferrara del Cinquecento*, Quaderni dell'Istit. di sc. politica, Università di Genova, 2 (Genova, 1983), pp. 29-32.

²³ Cf. Faletus, *De bello*, *o.c.*, *praefatio* (Paul Manuce à Faletti): ... quod in hac mea satis diuturna oculorum valetudine venire domum meam quam saepissime, animumque meum tristibus curis affectum tuo aspectu ac sermone recreare solitus es. Déclaration confirmée par une lettre de Manuce au cardinal Ippolito d'Este (1558): Valde me levavit in hac mea satis graviter affecta valetudine oratoris vestri Hieronymi Faleti, viri praestantis, oratio (P. Manutii *epistulae selectae*, ed. M. Fickelscherer (Lipsiae, 1892), p. 46); f. XXCV^r (*De valetudine Pauli Manutii*); f. XXCV^{r-v} (*Ad eundem*).

²⁴ Atenagora, ... *della risurrettione de' morti*, tradotto in lingua italiana da Girolamo Faleti: *con una oratione della natività di Christo, composta dal medesimo Faleti* (Venetia, 1556); cf. A. A. Renouard, *o.c.*, p. 167.

discours italien que Faletti avait ajouté à sa traduction d'Athénagore²⁵; le dernier discours, qui en fait a été prononcé le premier, est intitulé *De dialectica ad Academicos Lovanienses*²⁶ et se rapporte donc aux années passées à Louvain; malheureusement, cet éloge de la dialectique est tellement général qu'il ne nous fournit aucun renseignement supplémentaire sur l'université de Louvain ou les études de Faletti; le discours ne porte même pas de date.

En revanche, le recueil poétique de 1557 est une mine d'or pour le biographe de Faletti²⁷; il contient en effet un grand nombre de poèmes de circonstance et d'odes adressées à des dizaines de personnes avec lesquelles le poète était en contact; en outre (comme nous l'avons déjà écrit) Faletti y a introduit des poésies latines de ses amis. C'est donc ce volume-là qu'il nous faut examiner de plus près. Mais il nous faut d'abord remarquer qu'en sélectionnant des poèmes de circonstance — surtout des éloges d'amis ou de dignitaires —, nous sommes un peu injuste envers le poète: d'ordinaire ce n'est pas ce genre de vers qui porte le sceau du génie poétique. Or, Faletti a écrit des vers d'une inspiration plus profonde, plus féconde. Signalons par exemple un poème sur la musique qui a été traduit en italien par Giammaria Verdezotti²⁸ et a été publié à Venise en 1562: Faletti y expose l'origine et les bienfaits de la musique et de la poésie; à noter l'inspiration lucrétienne:

...tristes animos aegrumque laborem
unica tu relevas, divumque hominumque voluptas
qua sine nil iucundum animis neque amabile quicquam²⁹.

²⁵ *Orationes XII, o.c.*, ff. 51-56 (*De ortu Christi*). Il existe de cette oraison une traduction en espagnol (rare, exemplaire à la Bibliothèque Vaticane): *Oratione della natività di Chistio nostro signore. Traducida en romance castillano por Geronimo Serrano* (Venise, 1562).

²⁶ *O.c.*, ff. 88-93.

²⁷ Ajoutons aux contributions à la biographie et la bibliographie de Faletti (citées ci-dessus) les ouvrages suivants: J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* ..., IX (Halle, Leipzig, 1734 = Graz, 1982), col. 157; *Biblioteca dell'eloquenza italiana di G. Fontanini ... con le annotazioni* ... di Apostolo Zeno (Venezia, 1753), II, p. 245; M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, 2 (Boston, 1962), p. 1349; *Dizionario enciclopedico della letteratura italiana*, II (Roma, Bari, 1966), pp. 414-415.

²⁸ Les copies en sont rares (il y en a une à la Bibliothèque Vaticane): *La musica dell'illustre sig. Girolamo Faletti conte di Trigano dal verso heroico latino in ottava rima di G.M.V.* (Venise, 1562).

²⁹ Faletus, *De bello, o.c.*, ff. XXXVI^r-XXXIX^v (vv. 7-8; cf. Lucr. I, 1 et 23). A noter que Faletti a été impliqué dans l'édition des œuvres musicales d'Adrien Willaert: cf.

Signalons également une églogue qui chante l'amitié³⁰, une lamentation sur le pouvoir de la mort, écrite dans un style très vigoureux³¹, et des élégies amoureuses adressées à une certaine Julie, élégies, qui peut-être ont été inspirées par les vers latins de Diogo Pires, ami de Faletti à Ferrare, comme nous verrons plus loin³². Soit dit en passant, Faletti a également cultivé la muse italienne: un de ses poèmes italiens (pour la plupart inédits) a été publié par Giulio Bertoni, un sonnet sur la beauté de Violante Trotti de Ferrare; mais Bertoni n'a pas remarqué qu'il s'agissait d'une traduction du latin de Faletti³³. Signalons enfin trois satires ou *sermones* à la façon d'Horace, où sont développés des thèmes typiquement humanistes³⁴.

Toute cette production³⁵, nous devons l'écarter pour l'instant afin d'entamer la reconstitution des milieux dans lesquels Faletti a vécu et écrit. Nous étudierons d'abord la période louvaniste de Faletti, puis ses amitiés ferraraïses, enfin quelques-unes de ses relations vénitiennes.

1. Louvain

Primo, les études à Louvain, confirmées par une oraison de Faletti³⁶ et un témoignage de Girolamo Ruscelli³⁷. Nous avons retrouvé, dans les matricules de l'université de Louvain, le nom de Faletti: il s'y est inscrit le 13 février 1542³⁸. Probablement, il s'est appliqué au droit,

E. Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle* ..., 6 (Bruxelles, 1882), pp. 211-214.

³⁰ *Ib.*, ff. XLVI^r-XLVIII^r (*Ad Ioannem Donatum*). L'églogue ne figure pas dans W. L. Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill, 1965).

³¹ *Ib.*, f. XLV^{r-v}.

³² Cf. ci-dessous, notes 98-99.

³³ Cf. G. Bertoni, "Nuovi tarocchi versificati", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 43 (1904), 55-67 (p. 61); cf. Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. XC^r (*De forma Violantæ Troctæ*).

³⁴ *De amoribus illicitis; de ebrietate; de ingluvie* (comparons p.ex. les *Sermones oburgatorii* de Giov. Mich. Carrara (15^e siècle) ou le *Comus* (1608) d'Erycius Puteanus): ces trois satires horatiennes forment le septième livre de Faletus, *De bello*, o.c. (ff. LVIII^r-LXIII^v) et ne figurent pas dans J. IJsewijn, "Neo-Latin Satire: Sermo and Satyra Menippea", in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700* ..., ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, etc., 1976), pp. 41-55.

³⁵ Signalons que 21 poésies de Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., ont été recueillies dans les *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum*, IV (Florence, 1719), pp. 183-190; ces mêmes se trouvaient déjà dans les *Delitiae poetarum Italorum* ..., I (Cologne, 1608), pp. 944-952, qui présentent une épigramme (*Ad Iuliam*) en plus.

³⁶ Cf. ci-dessus, note 26.

³⁷ Cf. ci-dessus, note 11.

³⁸ Il y est immatriculé comme "Genuensis"; cf. A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, IV (Bruxelles, 1961), p. 238.

mais nous sommes persuadés qu'il a également suivi des cours au *Collegium Trilingue*. On trouve, en effet, dans ses œuvres beaucoup de références à des personnes qui, pendant ces années-là, avaient des liens avec le collège de Busleyden. Le professeur de latin le plus connu à l'époque était sans doute Petrus Nannius³⁹. Nannius envoyait ses poèmes à Faletti, comme on l'apprend par une épigramme de Faletti *Ad Petrum Nannium*:

Persica das nobis et mittis carmina, Nanni.
Quid potius cupiam? Carmina malo dari⁴⁰.

De quels poèmes s'agit-il? Nous l'ignorons. Peut-être de ses premières paraphrases des psaumes (publiées en 1558), ou plutôt du *genethliacum* que Nannius avait écrit à l'occasion de la naissance d'Emmanuel, fils de Damien a Gois, poésie éditée à Louvain en 1544⁴¹. Il y a une autre indication des rapports qu'ont eus Nannius et Faletti. Lorsque ce dernier arriva à Louvain, Nannius venait de publier l'édition princeps — avec traduction latine — du traité d'Athénagore (ou pseudo-Athénagore) sur la résurrection des morts⁴². C'est ce texte-là que Faletti a traduit en italien et publié en 1556. Il n'y a pas de doute possible sur l'édition grecque utilisée par Faletti: la seconde édition, publiée par Estienne, ne sortit qu'en 1557, donc après la traduction italienne. Troisièmement — et nous croyons que cette information est capitale pour expliquer la présence de Faletti à Louvain —, Nannius avait parmi ses admirateurs et élèves deux frères qui venaient de Gênes, Giacomo et Niccolo de' Fieschi (Fliscus), fils d'Ettore, qui, écrivit Nannius, “*praecipuam quondam sedulitatem exercet in eruditis hominibus et fovendis et ornandis*”⁴³. En novembre 1541, les deux frères, surtout Giacomo, qui fut évêque de Savona à partir de 1537, avaient invité Nannius à émigrer en Italie avec la promesse de larges appointements. En mars 1542, Nannius était prêt à partir et le 7 mars, il avait suspendu son cours au Collège des Trois-Langues, quand, vers le 15 mars, Fieschi dut renier sa promesse; au début du mois d'avril,

³⁹ Cf. à son sujet surtout A. Polet, *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge. Petrus Nannius 1500-1557*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 5 (Louvain, 1936).

⁴⁰ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. CV^v.

⁴¹ Cf. A. Polet, o.c., pp. 85-90.

⁴² *Ib.*, pp. 101-103.

⁴³ Nannius à Giacomo de' Fieschi (27 XI 1541), in A. Polet, o.c., pp. 269-272.

Giacomo et Niccolò quittèrent Louvain⁴⁴. Or, Faletti entretenait de bons rapports avec Giacomo de' Fieschi; il lui adressa un poème à l'occasion de son retour à Savona (*Ad Iacobum Fliscum Savonensium antistitem*): "Ut gaudet redeunte suo nova nupta marito, / sic est adventu laeta Savona tuo") et, dans un autre poème, Ettore de' Fieschi, le père de Giacomo, est décrit comme mécène ou patron de Faletti⁴⁵. De là notre hypothèse: c'est à cause des Fieschi et peut-être grâce à leur argent, que Faletti s'est rendu à Louvain. Cette hypothèse devient encore plus vraisemblable si on est conscient du fait que les Fieschi étaient accompagnés à Louvain par leur *amanuens* Gianangelo Papio — ce Papio de Salerne qui ensuite a enseigné le droit à Bologne — et que Faletti a adressé un poème à ce personnage⁴⁶. Or, Papio s'est inscrit comme étudiant à Louvain exactement le même jour que Faletti, le 13 février 1542: c'est une coïncidence qui ne pourrait être fortuite⁴⁷. Peut-être Papio et Faletti ont-ils voyagé ensemble; ou bien ils sont arrivés à Louvain en même temps que les Fieschi, mais pour des raisons inconnues ont tardé à se faire immatriculer⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ Cf. pour cet épisode A. Polet, *o.c.*, pp. 22-24 et passim; H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, 4: *Strengthened Maturity*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 13 (Louvain, 1955), pp. 88-95; 123-126 et passim.

⁴⁵ Faletus, *De bello*, *o.c.*, f. XCII^r (vv. 1-2); *Ad eundem*, f. XCII^v. Giacomo est mort en février 1546. *Ad Hectora Fliscum patricium Genuensem*, *ib.*, f. CII^{r-v}.

⁴⁶ *Ad Angelum Papium*, *ib.*, ff. XCVI^{r-v}. Le poème, qui a pour sujet la passion de Papio pour une certaine Blanca, suppose une amitié intime.

⁴⁷ Cf. A. Schillings, *o.c.*, l.c. Sur Papio, cf. e.a. M.E. Cosenza, *o.c.*, 3, p. 2600; A. Polet, *o.c.*, p. 272.

⁴⁸ Cela arrivait assez fréquemment, comme nous l'a confirmé M. René Hoven. Un exemple en est Berzosa (cf. note 49), qui ne s'est inscrit que le 1 juillet 1545 (cf. A. Schillings, *o.c.*, p. 305). Les Fieschi sont arrivés à Louvain vers le mois de juin de 1539. Si Faletti se trouvait dans leur compagnie, il n'est pas impossible qu'il ait connu à Louvain ou à Anvers Diogo Pires (Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus), Pyrrhus ayant certainement résidé aux Pays-Bas jusqu'en 1540. A. Lazzari a affirmé sans preuve aucune que les deux hommes se sont connus à Louvain; mais les vers des deux poètes ne nous fournissent aucun renseignement à ce sujet. Le cas est différent pour Franciscus Haemus. Dans les *Poemata* de celui-ci (nous avons utilisé l'édition 1630 de Courtrai, pp. 79-80) l'on trouve une poésie de Haemus "Hieronymo Phaleto poetae Genuensi", précédant un *Epicedion* pour René de Nassau, prince d'Orange (tué le 14 juillet 1544). Haemus a étudié à Louvain de 1536 à 1540. Des vers de Haemus on ne pourrait déduire que Faletti l'ait connu à Louvain; au contraire, ils suggèrent que Haemus n'avait pas fait la connaissance de Faletti avant la composition de son *Epicedion* (1544 ou 1545); il avait été poussé par un ami commun — Nicolaus Hamius — à dédicacer son poème à Faletti. Il s'agit en l'occurrence du 'bâtard de Hames', Nicolas de Hames, homme d'armes et politicien: cf. P. Henrard, dans *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* ..., 8 (Bruxelles, 1884), coll. 665-669; immatriculé à Louvain le 5 avril 1544: cf. A. Schillings, *o.c.*, p. 278. En 1544-5, Haemus était professeur de gymnase à Courtrai. Il n'y a pas d'allusion à Haemus ou à Hamus dans Faletus, *De bello*, *o.c.* Pour Haemus, cf. F. Van de Putte, "Études sur la littérature latine

Nous avons vu que Giacomo et Niccolò de' Fieschi ont quitté les Pays-Bas au mois d'avril 1542. Faletti, quant à lui, ne les a pas accompagnés. Nous en avons une preuve et une indication. D'une part, et c'est là l'indice pas tellement probant, à la fin de 1543, peut-être au début de 1544, il a remis à Juan Verzosa ou Berzosa, humaniste originaire de Saragosse qui, au début des années quarante, enseignait le grec et le latin à Louvain et collaborait avec Rescius, une poésie liminaire pour son manuel de prosodie, publié à Louvain en 1544; beaucoup plus tard, Faletti a recueilli huit poésies de Berzosa dans ses propres mélanges poétiques⁴⁹. D'autre part, — et c'est là la preuve — Faletti fut témoin oculaire des combats livrés à Anvers et à Louvain par les troupes gueldroises (et autres) de Martin Van Rossem, maréchal gueldrois qui s'était allié à l'étendard des Français désireux de frapper un grand coup dans les Pays-Bas et qui pénétrait dans le Brabant. Le siège d'Anvers et surtout celui de Louvain, où Damien a Gois semble avoir joué un rôle équivoque par lequel il s'est attiré la fureur des habitants de cette ville, ont eu un retentissement considérable⁵⁰. Or,

dans la West-Flandre au XVI^e siècle. 2^e étude", *Annales de la Société d'Émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, 28 (1876-1877), 75-93; H. de Vocht, *o.c.*, II, pp. 512-516.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica, Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas ...*, I: A-C (Bruxelles, 1979), p. 229. Ce même poème se trouve dans Faletus, *De bello*, *o.c.*, ff. XCII^v-XCIII^r; un autre poème au même se lit au f. CIV^v. L'épigramme suivante semble remonter à la période louvaniste de Faletti (f. CV^v):

Ad Io. Berzosam

Te vocat ad cenam tuus, o Berzosa, Faletus,
promittens ventrem pascere, non oculos.

Les huit poésies de Berzosa se trouvent aux ff. CXX^v-CXXIII^v, CXXVII^r et CXXXI^{r-v}; elles chantent toutes l'infériorité poétique de Berzosa par rapport à Faletti. Comme Pyrrhus, Berzosa a passé la plus grande partie de sa vie en exil: il est né à Saragosse en 1523, enseigne quelques années à Louvain (à signaler ici une poésie *In reditum e Gallia D. Damiani* (a Goes) dans la *Farrago carminum clarissimorum virorum...*, ajoutée à Damiani a Goes *equitis Lusitani aliquot opuscula ...* (Lovanii, m. Decem. 1544), a voyagé en Angleterre, etc. Il a vécu longtemps en Italie, au point d'être inclu dans les *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italarum*, X (Florence, 1724), pp. 460-461: *De victoria contra Turcas ad Naupactum*; il y a écrit des épîtres et des amours en vers. Cf. également J. Lopez de Toro, "Un pequeño poema acerca de las guerras de Flandes", *Hispania*, 3 (1943), 89-126. Il est mort à Rome en 1574. L'on prépare une étude à son sujet sous la direction du Prof. Maestre Maestre à Cadix.

⁵⁰ Cf., pour les sources principales, L. Dupont, "La plainte de l'Europe persécutée: les débuts littéraires de Torrentius (1542-1544)", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 22 (1973), 136-176. Aux sources indiqués dans cet article, ajoutons les œuvres de Faletti; l'*Ecloga III: interlocutores Alphesiboeus et Lycidas: continet stratagemata Rossemicum Lovanio frustrata intentatum*, dans Adriani Scorelii Batavi *poemata*, ed. G. Mennentius (Antverpiae, 1566);

Faletti y a consacré une œuvre qui a échappé à l'attention tant des historiens que des latinistes. Elle a trouvé son complément naturel dans une œuvre écrite en prose italienne, la *Prima parte delle guerre di Alamagna* (Venise, 1552), un récit extrêmement détaillé des opérations de Charles V en Allemagne (1546-1548)⁵¹. Le poème latin nous intéresse davantage: il est intitulé *De bello Sicambrico libri IV — Sicambri hodie se volunt Geldrenses*, dit Étienne dans le *Thesaurus*⁵² — et figure parmi les *Poemata* de 1557⁵³. L'épopée consiste en un récit des troubles de 1542 et 1543, aboutissant à l'annexion de Gueldre par Charles-Quint. L'inspiration du poème est fondamentalement virgilienne — ce qui ne nous surprend pas —; on y trouve donc tout cet appareil épique emprunté à Virgile, y compris l'intervention des dieux, par exemple lors du siège de Louvain. D'autre part, Faletti, en rédigeant cette épopée qui traite de l'histoire très récente, s'est servi beaucoup de Lucain: les harangues de Van Rossem rappellent clairement celles de César, de Curion ou de Pompée dans la Pharsale. En exposant les causes de la guerre, Faletti imite de près Lucain: par exemple, ce qu'il dit à propos des gueldrois dérive du Χαρακτηρισμός de César dans Lucain: *Stare loco nescit gens haec*⁵⁴. Le récit de l'attaque de Louvain et d'Anvers est raconté en détail: il s'agissait là de villes bien connues et d'hostilités dont le poète avait été témoin; mais il faut signaler aussi que les humanistes s'étaient empressés de transmettre ces exploits à la postérité.

une épigramme intitulé *Martinus Rossemius, Gallicarum partium dux, Brabantiam depopulatur* de Gerardus Suberinus Corcuius (cf. I.H. Hessels (ed.), *Abrahami Ortelii ... epistulae* ..., Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae archivum, 1 (Cantabrigiae, 1887 = Torhout, 1988), p. 640.

⁵¹ Cf. ci-dessous, note 59. Importantes pour la biographie sont les remarques suivantes de Faletti, ff. Aii^r-Aiii^r: Ritrovandomi io, Illustriss. Principe, si come sa l'Eccellenza vostra, col Signor Don Francesco suo fratello, & mio Illustrissimo padrone, a questa ultima guerra fatta... & havendo veduto con gli occhi propri gran parte de i fatti, ch'io sono per raccontare ne'l progresso dell'historia... Cf. p. 385: Questo è, quanto per hora mi è paruto di scrivere nella presente historia delle cose seguite in questa guerra, secondo ch'io potei con ogni diligenza intendere mentre era anch'io in fatti, cominciando dall'anno MDXLVI, nel mese di Giugno, insino al MDXLVIII, di Aprile ... Comme on sait, Faletti a commencé sa carrière académique à Ferrare en 1548; probablement, la phrase *gran parte de i fatti* se rapporte donc à la période qui va de la fin de 1546 (en juillet, il obtint son diplôme) jusqu'à l'automne de 1548 (début des cours).

⁵² Roberti Stephani ... *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* ..., IV (Basileae, 1743 = Bruxelles, 1964), col. 233.

⁵³ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., ff. I^r-XXXV^r. Cette épopée ne se trouve pas dans Hieronymi Phaethi Savonensis *poematum libri VII* (apud Ferrariam, 1546; exemplaire à la Biblioteca Ariostea à Ferrare).

⁵⁴ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. I^r; cf. Lucain, I, 144-145.

Ainsi, pour ne citer qu'un seul exemple, la description des Pays-Bas et le mythe qui explique le nom d'Anvers, Antwerpen⁵⁵ — *a manibus iactis Hantwerpia dicta est* — il y a une longue digression — nous semblent imités de la *Geldrogallica coniuratio* de Jean Knaep ou Servilius, publiée en 1542 et immédiatement traduite en italien⁵⁶. En tout cas, l'épopée mériterait une analyse approfondie. Aux Pays-Bas, un seul homme semble avoir réalisé l'importance du poème, le juriste Corneille Vonck, qui l'a réédité à Nimègue en 1749, mais par là ne l'a pas sauvé de l'oubli. Les exemplaires de cette réédition sont d'ailleurs rares; il y en a un dans la riche bibliothèque de Desbillons à Mannheim⁵⁷.

Si Faletti a été témoin des attaques de Louvain et d'Anvers, on peut se demander s'il a fait partie des gardes composées d'étudiants belges et étrangers, dont Nannius et Damien a Gois ont fait mention⁵⁸. Cela ne semble pas être le cas. Cet épisode de la vie de Faletti, on n'y voit pas encore fort clair. Dans l'introduction à l'histoire des guerres allemandes écrite en italien, Faletti déclare formellement qu'il a servi sous Francesco d'Este, frère du duc Ercole⁵⁹; à cette époque, Francesco d'Este était capitaine au service de Charles-Quint. Et dans son poème, Faletti raconte qu'il a aidé à fortifier la ville d'Anvers, comme l'a vu de ses propres yeux le Prince d'Orange (après sa défaite à Brasschaat le

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, ff. III^v-V^r.

⁵⁶ *La congiuratione de Gheldre si contra la città d'Anversa, composta da Giovanni Servilio e volgarizzata per Francesco Strozzi, con le guerre fatte ne 'l anno 1542* (Vinegia, 1543); Ioa. Servilius, *Geldrogallica coniuratio in totius Belgicae clarissimam civitatem Antverpian, duce Martino Rosheymio conscripta ad prudentiss. vigilantiss. Coss. senatumque Antverpien*. (Antverpiae, 1542).

⁵⁷ Hieronymi Faleti *De bello Sicambrico libri IV. Praemissa est epistola Cornelii Valerii Vonck ad virum illustrem Ianum De Back* ... (Noviomagi, 1749); cf. e.a. *Gheprint te Nymeghen. Nijmeegse drukkers. uitgevers en boekverkopers 1479-1794*, edd. P. J. Begheyn, E. F. M. Peters, *Catalogi van het kunstbezit van de gemeente Nijmegen*, 6 (Nijmegen, 1990), p. 141.

⁵⁸ Cf. p.ex. Damiani Gois equitis Lusitani *Urbis Lovaniensis obsidio* (Olisipone, 1546), passim; H. de Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia. Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the First Half of the XVIth Century* ... (Louvain, 1934), pp. 609-698.

⁵⁹ *Prima parte delle guerre di Alamagna*, di Girolamo Faleti, *all' illustrissimo et eccellentissimo principe il secondo signor donn' Hercole* ... (Vinegia, 1552), ff. Aii^r-Aiii^r; cf. p. 385. Dans *De bello, o.c.*, nous trouvons deux poésies adressées à Francesco d'Este (ff. XLVIII^v et LXIX^{r-v}).

24 juillet); le poète ajoute qu'il donna des conseils aux liguriens⁶⁰. Il est donc possible que Faletti se soit engagé comme mercenaire au moment où Marie de Hongrie, consciente du danger gueldrois, a ordonné de fortifier les villes et de lever des troupes. Et il n'est pas invraisemblable que Faletti se soit résolu à prendre les armes, parce que son patron Fieschi ayant quitté Louvain, il était à court d'argent. L'on pourrait même supposer que le fait qu'en 1546-1548 il a servi sous le frère du duc d'Este a facilité sa carrière à la cour de Ferrare. Mais ce ne sont là que des hypothèses que nous ne pouvons vérifier pour l'instant.

En tout cas, après le siège de Louvain, Faletti n'est pas rentré en Italie. "Per alquanti anni aveva studiato a Lovanio ben visto", nous dit Ruscelli⁶¹, et les nouvelles amitiés de Faletti renforcent cette petite phrase. Probablement par l'intermédiaire de Petrus Nannius, Girolamo a dû faire la connaissance d'autres étudiants et sympathisants du Collège des Trois-Langues. Nous songeons en premier lieu à Damien a Gois et son cercle. Nous possédons de la main de Faletti un poème *Ad Damianum a Goes*, où il est question de la captivité de Gois et du chagrin de sa femme, et un autre poème écrit peu après la mise en liberté de Gois: "Annuerat Gallus, venit Damianus ad urbem, / accepit vultus protinus illa suos"⁶². On voit donc que Faletti, tout comme Nannius, ne s'est pas rallié à la majorité des louvanistes, selon lesquels Gois aurait trahi les siens.

Gois avait épousé la sœur de son compagnon d'études à Padoue, Splinter van Hargen, seigneur d'Oosterwijk; ce Splinter, nous le retrouvons dans trois poésies de Faletti, qui a célébré "Vinea", l'amie de

⁶⁰ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. VII^{r-v}:

Haud inter Latios totque inter milia solus
Belgarum stabam vacuus; quin Principis omni
haerebam nutu, perlustrans moenia et ipsis
moenibus ostendens nunc qua deducere fossam
quemve locum valido deceat praecludere vallo,
utque aditus Belgis sit notus et inscius hosti;/
(f. VII^v) ostendi interdum Ligures insistere in agmen,
pulcher ut aequatis decurreret omnibus ordo.
Id non sub dubia recitant mea carmina laude,
nam cunctis sat nota cano. Testis mihi Princeps
fortis Ariscotius, testis quoque maximus ille
Auraicae Princeps decus insuperabile gentis.

Signalons deux épigrammes de Faletti (*ib.*, ff. XCI^v et XCI^v-XCII^v) In obitum *Aurasiae principis* (cf. également ci-dessus, note 48).

⁶¹ Cf. ci-dessus, note 11.

⁶² Cf. Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., ff. XCIII^v-XCV^r.

Splinter⁶³. De la famille de Gois faisait également partie Corneille Suys ou Susius, ancien étudiant du *Collegium Trilingue*, conseiller impérial à La Haye et oncle de la femme de Gois⁶⁴. Bien que Susius se soit fait un nom comme poète⁶⁵, aucune de ses poésies latines ne semblait avoir survécu. Or le recueil de Faletti comprend un éloge poétique de la main de Susius et nous offre donc le seul spécimen de sa muse latine⁶⁶.

Nannius appréciait beaucoup Grudius, un des "tres fratres Belgae", frère de Jean Second et conseiller privé. A cette époque, il résidait à Bruxelles et à Anvers et consacrait ses loisirs au culte de la Muse, faisant imprimer des vers de circonstance à Louvain⁶⁷. Faletti a adressé trois poèmes à Grudius, qu'il appelle

decus o nostri spes unica saeculi,
qua vagus undosa sinuans se Dilia ripa
moenia Lovani Mavortia perluit alti⁶⁸.

⁶³ Cf. *ib.*, ff. XCVI^r-XCVII^r. Sur Splinter van Hagen, cf. e.a. H. de Vocht, *History*, o.c., passim; P. Noordeloos, *Cornelius Musius (Mr. Cornelis Muys), pater van Sint Agatha te Delft, humanist/priester, martelaar* (Utrecht, Antwerpen, 1955), passim. L'on sait que Splinter a étudié à Padoue. Mais nous tenons à souligner qu'il a obtenu son diplôme à Ferrare, le 1 mars 1538 (cf. G. Pardi, o.c.).

⁶⁴ Cf. H. de Vocht, *History*, o.c., II, pp. 376-378; P. Noordeloos, o.c., passim.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Omnium Belgii ... regionum descriptio*, Ludovico Guicciardino... auctore (traduction latine de R. Vitellius) (Amstelrodami, 1613), p. 200 (*ac non infirmi nominis vatem*).

⁶⁶ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., ff. CXXIII^r-CXXV^r: *Ad Hieronymum Faletum Cornelius Susius*

Bis tua iam nobis, Hieronyme docte, dedisti
carmina, quae decies sunt repetita mihi.
Carmina Peligno quae sunt placitura poetae
iudicet ipse Maro de meliore nota.
Nos altum reticere doles, sed credere noli
contemptu id fieri, docte poeta, tui.
Dicere rusticitas prohibet, non rite putasti
non facere ad faciles iura severa iocos.
Ceterum amicitiam mihi qua nil tale merenti
iungier ex animo candidiore cupis, /

(f. CXXV^r) hanc equidem, Faletus, tibi doctisque paratus
praestiterim et nulli cessero in officiis.

Un poème *Ad Cornelium Susium, Caesaris a consiliis apud Batavos* se trouve *ib.*, f. CIII^{r-v}.

⁶⁷ Cf. H. de Vocht, *History*, o.c., passim; J. P. Guépin, "Grudius uit de schaduw", *Maatstaf*, 1983, n. 8, 79-104; C. M. G. ten Raa, "Nicolai (Grudius), Nicolaus", dans *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 7 (Brussel, 1977), coll. 662-672. Il y a de belles pages de Nannius sur Grudius dans Petri Nannii ... *Miscellaneorum decas una* (Lovanii, 1548), pp. 72-76.

⁶⁸ Faletus, *De bello Sicambrico*, o.c., ff. LIII^r-LVII^r (*Ad Nicolaum Nicolai Grudium, Caesaris a secretis, apud Belgas; Ad eundem; Ad eundem*); les vers cités se trouvent au f. LIII^r. Le premier poème est une sorte d'introduction; dans le second, il fait l'éloge de la poésie de Grudius, qu'il met au même rang que celle de Vida et de Fracastoro (il y fait

Pour Faletti, le génie poétique de Grudius n'est comparable qu'à celui de Vida. Cette comparaison et ces poèmes nous apprennent que Nicolas Grudius lui avait envoyé ses poésies chrétiennes — dont une partie est restée inédite jusqu'au début du 17^e siècle. Mais ce qui est digne d'être remarqué, c'est que le recueil de Faletti contient, en appendice, un poème de Grudius à Faletti, à savoir une épître flatteuse déclarant que c'est plutôt Faletti qui ressemble à Vida. De cette épître nous ne connaissions que l'édition posthume de 1612, tandis que cette édition-ci, publiée du vivant de l'auteur, présente des variantes considérables; l'édition posthume, préparée à partir d'un autographe de Grudius, représente donc une phase ultérieure du remaniement⁶⁹.

En dernier lieu, il nous faut mentionner Caspar Schets, un jeune homme doué de talent selon Erasme⁷⁰, plus tard négociant et financier à Anvers; dans le poème qu'il lui a dédié, Faletti se présente comme quelqu'un qui en a assez de la vie militaire et veut se consacrer uniquement à la jurisprudence. Nous ignorons comment notre poète a cherché à se rapprocher de Schets; cela s'est peut-être fait par l'intermédiaire de Grudius⁷¹.

également allusion aux vers funèbres de Grudius pour Jean Second); dans le troisième, il loue notamment Jean Second à qui Grudius a consacré des vers émouvants.

⁶⁹ *Ib.*, f. CXVI^{r-v}. Le texte de 1612 a été reproduit ensuite dans le deuxième volume des *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum* (Francfort, 1614), pp. 679-680.

Voici les variantes des éditions de 1557 et de 1612:

— v. 2 mittere ab inculto flores te scribis agello (1557) / mittere de rigido te flores scribis agello (1612);

— vv. 7-8 Crede mihi, verum fateor, sunt nomina nobis
mutanda atque tui vertendus carminis ordo (1557)/
Parce, precor (verum fatear), sunt nomina nobis
vertenda atque tuo mutandae in carmine partes (1612)

— v. 12 at mihi tantum (1557) / ad modo tantum (1612)

— v. 18 suspicere in summum (1557) / suspicere ad summum (1612)

— v. 20 magnanimos iuvenes, quos Phoebi vividus ardor
excitat audacique pares facit ille labori (1557) / ire labori (1612)

— vv. 21-22 teque adeo, Falet, tuo de nomine vates
Ausonios, Vidam Fracastoriumque secutum (1557):
tete adeo, Falet, tuo de nomine vates
aeternos, Vidam Fracastoriumque sequentem (1612).

⁷⁰ Cf. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, X, edd. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, H. W. Garrod (Oxonii, 1941 = 1963), *epist.* 2897 (p. 347, ll. 1-13).

⁷¹ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. C^v (*Ad Gaspara Schetum*); pour Schets, cf. e.a. H. de Vocht, *History*, o.c., III, pp. 358-361.

Nous signalons enfin deux personnages dont Faletti semble avoir fait la connaissance en Brabant, à savoir Petrus Bausanus et Philippus Nigri. Au premier sont adressées la poésie *Rogat libellum ut Petrum Bausanum adeat ac suo nomine salutet* (Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., ff. CVIII^v-CX^v) et l'épigramme *Ad eundem* (*ib.*, f. CX^v). Bausanus résidait à Anvers

2. *Ferrare*

Vers 1544, Faletti arrive à Ferrare; en 1546, il obtient son diplôme de l'université de cette ville; après avoir combattu (1546-1548) sous Francesco d'Este en Allemagne, il jouit de la faveur du duc de Ferrare; il commence une carrière académique et il se destine à la diplomatie. Un premier recueil de ses poésies latines est publié. En moins de cinq ans, il devient une des personnalités les plus remarquables du milieu ferrarais et jouit d'un grand prestige dans les cercles littéraires de la ville. Un de ses amis les plus intimes est Barthélémy Ricci⁷², précepteur du fils d'Ercole d'Este; dans le dialogue sur les poètes contemporains, œuvre de Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, Ricci mentionne Faletti en tant qu'orateur et poète bilingue; dans ses lettres, il le félicite de ses œuvres⁷³; il lui dédicace son *Oratio in Archiam*⁷⁴. Faletti, de son côté, salue Ricci comme *Ausoniae torrens facundia linguae*; il est plein d'admiration pour le livre sur l'imitation de celui-ci⁷⁵.

(v. 33: Recto Antverpia tramite est petenda), où Faletti l'a visité (*Ad eundem*, vv. 3-4: Nunc quod Palladios tuos penates / certe mi graviter dolet relinquam). Bausanus est mentionné dans le cercle de Nannius (A. Polet, *o.c.*, pp. 132-134) et en 1537 Viglius lui a adressé trois lettres (cf. C.P. Hoynck van Papendrecht, *Vita Viglii ab Ayttia Zuichemi* ..., II, 1 (Hagae Comitum, 1743), pp. 231-232, 237-239, 248-249), mais malgré ces données le personnage demeure dans l'obscurité; est-il identique à ce Petrus Bausan de Tornaco qui s'est immatriculé à Louvain le 30 juin 1525 (cf. A. Schillings, *o.c.*, III, p. 744)?

Quant à Philippe Nigri, Faletti s'est présenté à lui avec ces vers-ci:

Belgarum quod me gelidas sors traxit ad oras,
quod proprios statui deseruisse lares,
non me paeniteat, si me, vir summe, clientes
constitues inter connumerare tuos (*De bello*, f. CII^r).

A partir de 1535, Nigri, *iuris utriusque doctor*, fut chargé de différentes missions par Marie de Hongrie: cf. Ch. Piot, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, 15 (Bruxelles, 1899), coll. 734-737; H. de Vocht, *History*, *o.c.*, III, p. 357.

⁷² Cf. D. Sacré, "De Aonio Paleario Verulano et Bartholomaeo Riccio Lugiensis", in *Umanesimo ferrarese*, Quaderni del Giornale filologico ferrarese, 12 (Ferrara, 1990), pp. 47-67.

⁷³ Cf. *Operum Bartholomaei Riccii Lugiensis tomus secundus*..., pars II (Patavii, 1748), pp. 469 et 473-474.

⁷⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 600-602 (= *tomus I*, pp. 29-31). La lettre doit dater de la fin de 1551 ou du début de 1552, puisqu'il y est dit que la *Prima parte delle guerre in Alamagna* de Faletti est sous presse.

⁷⁵ Faletus, *De bello*, *o.c.*, f. XLII^{r-v} (*De Bartholomaeo Riccio*, v. 3); il est question de Ricci dans d'autres poésies de Faletti, comme *ib.*, f. XXXIX^r (le poème sur la musique), f. LVIII^v, où Ricci est appelé *Romani eloquii pater*, ff. XCIX^{v-C^r} et f. CX^{r-v} (*De libello Riccii, de imitatione*).

Faletti a certainement appartenu au cercle du savant Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (mort en 1552)⁷⁶. Faisant allusion aux œuvres maîtresses de Giraldi, Giovan Battista Pigna, ami commun de Faletti et de Giraldi, énumère quelques-uns des amis de ce dernier :

Nam modo tu celebras vates, modo caelicolas et
antiquorum omnem historiam sub mente revolvis:
hic aliqua de re dubii Pyrrhusque, Phaethusque
et Portus meritoque vocatus Cynthius, atque
Riccius Antimachusque senex et Lollius ad te
accedunt⁷⁷.

A cause du *Dialogus de poetis*, Giraldi doit assumer la responsabilité de l'édition des vers de Faletti :

Tu facis edantur vulgo quae carmina nondum
auctoris trivit lima severa sui⁷⁸.

Et il semble bien que Giraldi ait vraiment tenu en estime Faletti et son œuvre ; pour son ami, il a composé un épithalame et quelques autres poésies⁷⁹, entre autres cette épigramme extrêmement complimenteuse :

Cum mea Musa cadat, tua surgat ad astra, Faletus,
ah! me (quaeso) senem carmine tolle tuo⁸⁰.

Ces poésies de Giraldi ne figurent pas dans les *Opera omnia* que nous avons consultés⁸¹.

Ainsi que Ricci et Giraldi, le jeune et ambitieux Pigna jouissait de la bienveillance des ducs d'Este⁸². Faletti vanta la poésie latine de Pigna et écrivit un vers liminaire pour son ouvrage sur le duel⁸³. Quelques

⁷⁶ Cf. E. Magri, "Notizie di manoscritti. I carmi latini di Lilio Gregorio Giraldi nel codice I, 371 della Biblioteca Ariostea", *Lettere italiane*, 26 (1974), 64-82; M. Mund-Dopchie, "Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi et sa contribution à l'histoire des tragiques grecs au XVI^e siècle", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 34 (1985), 137-149.

⁷⁷ I.B. Pigna, *Carminum libri quattuor* ... (Venetiis, 1553), pp. 111-113 (*Ad Lilium Gregorium Gyraldum*, vv. 6-11).

⁷⁸ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. XCIX^v (*Ad L.G.G.*), vv. 3-4. Faletti a fait l'éloge de Giraldi dans une épigramme, *ib.*, f. CIII^r (cf. également ff. XXXIX^r et XCIV^v-C^r).

⁷⁹ *Ib.*, ff. CXIII^v-CXIII^v (*Epithalamion Hieronymi Faleti et Paulae Calcagninae*); f. CXXIX^{r-v}; ff. CXX^v-CXXXI^r; f. CXXXIII^r; ff. CXXXIII^r-CXXXIII^r.

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, f. CXXVIII^r.

⁸¹ Cf. Lillii Gregorii Gyraldi, *Opera*, o.c., II, pp. 913-920.

⁸² Cf. R. Baldi, o.c. (passim).

⁸³ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. XXCVI^r (*Ad Ioannem Baptistam Pignam*); f. XXCVI^{r-v} (*De duello Pignae*); cette dernière poésie doit dater de 1553 ou de 1554, année de l'édition princeps du *Duello*, *diviso in tre libri* (Venise) de Pigna.

années avant sa mort, Faletti fut nommé historiographe officiel par Alfonso d'Este⁸⁴; pour ses recherches généalogiques sur les Este, il put compter sur l'aide de Pigna, qui, après la mort de Faletti, a publié les fruits de ses propres recherches et de celles de son ami dans l'*Historia dei Principi d'Este* (1570)⁸⁵. Dans les *Carmina* de 1553 de Pigna, nous trouvons un vers adressé à Faletti, où celui-ci est appelé "maximus omnium poetarum"⁸⁶; dans le recueil de Faletti, il y a une poésie de Pigna, dans laquelle il demande que son ami retourne de Venise à Ferrare⁸⁷.

Nous ne pouvons pas nous attarder en détail sur d'autres amis connus à Ferrare et dont des poésies figurent très souvent dans le livre de Faletti; nous pensons à Gabriel Ariosto, à Battista Sarracchi, comme Pigna secrétaire du duc d'Este, à l'orateur bilingue Albert Lollo, à l'helléniste et latiniste Antimacho et à l'écrivain et professeur de philosophie et de rhétorique Giambattista Giraldis Cinzio⁸⁸. Nous nous contenterons d'attirer l'attention sur Diogo Pires, Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus. Nous avons déjà vu que ce poète portugais adhérerait au

⁸⁴ Probablement en 1558, comme il résulte de la préface de l'*Historia de' Principi d'Este* (Ferrara, 1570) de Pigna (ouvrage que nous avons consulté dans la version latine de Ioa. Baro, *De principibus Atestinis historiarum libri VIII* (Ferrariae, 1595): "duodecim abhinc annos, cum apud Henricum Galliae regem tertio esses..."; cf. R. Baldi, *o.c.*, p. 25.

⁸⁵ Cf. R. Baldi, *o.c.*, pp. 31-32. Deux manuscrits contenant les *Estensium Annales* de Faletti sont conservés à la Biblioteca Estense à Modène (a.J.4.1 et a.F.3.14).

⁸⁶ I.B. Pigna, *Carminum libri*, *o.c.*, p. 59.

⁸⁷ Faletus, *De bello*, *o.c.*, f. CXXX^{r-v}.

⁸⁸ Pour G. Ariosto, frère de Ludovico, cf. M. Quattrucci, dans *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 4 (Roma, 1962), pp. 171-172. Nous regrettons de ne pas avoir pu consulter Gabrielis Ariostei Ferrariensis *carmina* (Ferrariae, 1582). Un poème en strophes Sapphiques se trouve dans Faletus, *De bello*, *o.c.*, ff. CXXXIV^v-CXXXVII^r. Pour Sarracchi, cf. R. Baldi, *o.c.*, p. 30 et A. Lazzari, *o.c.*, p. 182; Faletti lui a adressé une épigramme (*ib.*, f. XCIX^v et en a reçu trois en retour (*ib.*, f. CXXXVI^r). Pour Lollo, cf. D. Sacré, 'Quaestiunculae', *o.c.*, pp. 206-215; Faletti (f. C^r) l'a honoré d'une épigramme. Pour Antimacho, cf. T.B. Deutscher, dans *Contemporaries of Erasmus ...*, edd. P.G. Bietenholz, T.B. Deutscher, 1 (Toronto, etc., 1985), p. 62; deux épigrammes lui ont été adressées par Faletti (ff. CIII^v-CV^r et CV^r); trois de ses propres compositions se lisent au f. CXXXVIII^{r-v}. Pour Cinzio, cf. B. Piccioni, 'Vita di Giambattista Giraldis', *Atti e memorie della Deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, 18 (1908), 103-199; il y a un poème de Faletti pour Cinzio Giraldis dans *De bello*, *o.c.*, f. CIII^v (v. 1: Gyraldum salvere iubet Faletus amicum); les deux Giraldis sont mentionnés dans le poème sur la musique; dans sa réponse, Cinzio se plaint de son âge avancé, qui lui ôte le talent poétique (f. CXXXV^{r-v}).

Signalons enfin que Faletti a adressé des épigrammes à un autre secrétaire du duc, Alessandro Guarini (1486-1556): f. XXCVII^{r-v}; cf. f. XXXIX^r: et qui laurigerò comes is, Sarrache, Guarino; cf. G.A. Barotti, *Memorie istoriche di letterati ferraresi*, II (Ferrara, 1793), pp. 74-79.

cercle de Giraldi; c'est d'ailleurs lui qui dans le *De Poetis* de Giraldi présente les poètes originaires du Portugal. Avant la publication de cette œuvre, Pyrrhus en avait déjà lu des fragments; il pria son ami de la faire paraître⁸⁹. Lilio de son côté trouve que Pyrrhus excelle dans quelque genre poétique auquel il s'applique; il a lu ses recueils *partim editi partim propediem edendi*⁹⁰. Ricci est du même avis: il faut, écrit-il dans une lettre, que Pyrrhus fasse paraître ses poèmes⁹¹. Et Pigna nous confie que les vers de Pyrrhus lui remontent le moral⁹².

Les poèmes de Faletti prouvent que lui et Pyrrhus sont devenus de très grands amis. Nous ne disposons pas d'indications nous permettant de conclure que les deux hommes se sont connus à Louvain ou à Anvers: l'humaniste d'Évora s'était inscrit à l'université de Louvain en 1536; fin 1544 ou début 1545 au plus tard, il vivait à Ferrare, où ses *Carmina* furent publiés. Là, les deux poètes chantaient les louanges l'un de l'autre. Faletti a adressé quelques poésies à Pyrrhus, qui en a offert au moins sept à son ami⁹³. Le ligurien remercie Didacus de lui avoir envoyé ses délicieux vers; les éloges qu'il y a consacrés à Faletti renforcent les liens d'amitié qui unissent les deux poètes; bien sûr, il ne méritait pas ces louanges; somme toute, il y avait des gens qui portaient leurs critiques sur la muse de Faletti; par contre, l'art de Pyrrhus était digne des anciens:

Quale meus carmen Pyrrhus facit, ille beati
ingenii Pyrrhus, priscos qui carmine vates
provocat immiscetque Tagum Permessidos undis⁹⁴;

d'après lui, Pyrrhus est avant tout un poète d'amour. Mêmes flatteries de la part du Portugais, qui considère Faletti comme son ami intime

⁸⁹ Cf. Lili Gregorii Gyraldi, *Opera*, o.c., II, p. 913 (vers de Pyrrhus à Giraldi).

⁹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 556.

⁹¹ Cf. *Operum Bartholomaei Riccii*, o.c., II, 2, pp. 429-430 (Ricci à "Didacus Pirius"); la lettre date probablement de 1544 ou de 1545, date à laquelle Pyrrhus a publié un recueil de vers à Ferrare (cf. G.H. Tucker, "Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus (1517-1599), Poet of Exile", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 41 (1992), 175-198.

⁹² Pigna, *Carminum libri*, o.c., pp. 38-39, vv. 1-4:

Et me carminibus tuis
fecisti gemitus ponere flebiles
et sedare molestias
vexantes animum non mediocriter.

⁹³ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., ff. XCV^v (amourette de Pyrrhus) et CIII^r (cf. f. XXXIX^r); de Pyrrhus: ff. CXXV^v-CXXVI^r; CXXX^r; CXXXI^v; CXXXII^r; CXXXII^v (deux poésies); CXXXV^v-CXXXVI^r (quatre poésies constituant un cycle).

⁹⁴ *Ib.*, f. XXXIX^r.

(*dimidium vitae est ille*)⁹⁵ et ses chants aussi entraînants que ceux d'Orphée.

Tout cela dépasse à peine les compliments usuels. Il semble pourtant que la muse de Pyrrhus ait incité Faletti, d'ordinaire plutôt sérieux, parfois même moralisateur dans ses vers, à s'essayer à la poésie plus légère, à rivaliser avec son ami. En tout cas, en 1547, l'un et l'autre ont composé plusieurs épigrammes sur le portrait d'Anne d'Este (fille de Renée de France) par Girolamo da Carpi⁹⁶. C'est probablement cette rivalité entre poètes, cette affinité entre amis qu'a voulu symboliser Pyrrhus dans la petite collection de poésies offerte à Faletti, lorsqu'il l'a mêlé à sa vie sentimentale, insinuant même que Faletti lui a volé son amie Lycoris. C'est ce qu'on peut lire dans un beau *carmen figuratum* en forme d'aile de Cupidon: qu'il nous soit permis de dire, que ces vers érotiques de Pyrrhus, qui surpassent de loin ce que Faletti a écrit en ce genre, sont extraordinaires et l'emportent également sur les poèmes contenus dans l'anthologie de Pyrrhus publiée il y a quelques années⁹⁷.

Quo tu, saeve puer, quo nigras induis alas?
 Quo faculam? Quo mi spicula dura moves?
 Num sat longa diu regna Lycoridis
 perpressus videor? Movere tigres
 orantis poterant preces.
 Nil tamen, heu nil
 illa querelas,
 nil audit gemitus, freto
 surdior rapidis furente ventis.
 Heu heu quis miserum me manet exitus
 si quae sola mihi vita Lycoris erat
 me fugit et turpes Ligurini curat amores?⁹⁸

Le "Ligurinus" ne peut être que Faletti; la rivalité entre Faletti et Pyrrhus est confirmée par un autre poème du Portugais⁹⁹.

⁹⁵ *Ib.*, f. CXXVI^r.

⁹⁶ *Ib.*, f. XXCVIII^r-XXCIX^v; f. CV^v (onze épigrammes en tout); cf. G. Bertoni, "Umanisti portoghesi a Ferrara (Hermico e Didaco)", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 114 (1939), 46-49.

⁹⁷ Cf. Diogo Pires, *Antologia poética*, ed. C. Ascenso André, Textos Humanísticos portugueses, 1 (Coimbra, 1983).

⁹⁸ Faletus, *De bello*, o.c., f. CXXXVI^r.

⁹⁹ Dans lequel il est également question de Lycoris (f. CXXXI^v, vv. 1-6): Ornabat radio comam Lycoris, / ornanti puer astitit Cupido. / Et quid compositos, puella, crines / in tortum iuvat alligare nodum? / Tamquam non magis ac magis Faletto / in longis placeas meo capillis?

3. *Venise*

Ayant ainsi traité dans les grandes lignes les milieux littéraires que Faletti a fréquentés à Ferrare, il nous reste à mentionner quelques-unes de ses relations vénitiennes. Ici, nous pouvons être bref. En effet, les soucis quotidiens de la carrière diplomatique ne laissaient à Faletti que peu de temps; il écrivit à plusieurs reprises que ces préoccupations l'éloignaient de la muse latine¹⁰⁰. Elles lui dictèrent bien des odes presque obligatoires aux familles patriciennes, telles les Donato, les Venier, ou à quelques collègues *oratores*, diplomates¹⁰¹. À côté de ceux-ci, il y avait naturellement Rucellai et Manuce, mais nous les avons déjà mentionnés. Nous voulons donc terminer en bouclant le cercle, c'est-à-dire en attirant l'attention sur un personnage flamand que Faletti a dû rencontrer à Venise. Il s'agit d'une des connaissances de Manuce, originaire d'Alost en Flandre orientale, Nicolas Stopius¹⁰². Nous sommes très peu informés à son sujet; ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'il s'était établi à Venise, probablement pour y faire du commerce. Il y connaissait le grand monde, comme le montre un petit recueil d'une cinquantaine de pages de vers latines, publiés à Florence en 1555¹⁰³. Or Faletti a adressé une poésie à ce Stopius, dans laquelle il l'invite à prendre un verre avec lui: une soirée de détente pendant les jours caniculaires¹⁰⁴. Cette poésie est une des rares dont nous sachions qu'elle a été appréciée chez nous: elle a été recueillie dans une anthologie latine (restée inédite et conservée à Bruxelles), qu'un limbourgeois a composée vers 1580¹⁰⁵. Remarque plus importante encore: ce Stopius

¹⁰⁰ P. ex. *ib.*, ff. XXCI^v-XXCII^r (vv. 5-6: Me curae exurunt et magna negotia magni / Herculis, haec vigilem nocte dieque premunt); f. XXCVI^r (vv. 3-4: En mihi Musa favet solito minus, ardua rerum / cura agitat regis Herculis ipsa mei).

¹⁰¹ P. ex. *ib.*, ff. LXX^r (épicede de Cesare Fregoso), LXXVI^r (*In obitum Francisci Venerii Venetorum principis*), LXV^r (*Ad serenissimum Laurentium Priulum Venetorum principem*), XXCIII^r (*Giustiniano Contarini*).

¹⁰² Ami de Vesalius, Ellebodium et beaucoup d'autres illustres personnages; cf. p. ex. M. Roth, *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis* (Berlin, 1892 = Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 127 et 441-442; E. Pastorello, *Inedita Manutiana 1502-1597. Appendice all' inventario*, Biblioteca di Bibliografia italiana, 37 (Firenze, 1960), n° 1247. Une étude bio- et bibliographique sur Stopius fait défaut.

¹⁰³ *Panegyricum Nicolai Stopii Alostensis Flandri carmen. De laudibus divae Ioannae Aragonae, ad Illustriss. & excellentiss. eius filium Marcum Antonium Columnam...* (Florentiae, 1555).

¹⁰⁴ Faletus, *De bello, o.c.*, ff. XXCVI^v-XXCVII^r (*Ad Nicolaum Stopium*).

¹⁰⁵ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. II, 7533, pp. 116-118 ("Nonnulla carmina lepidiora ex Hieronymo faletto selecta"). Il s'agit d'une anthologie de prose et de poésie,

a fait don d'une poésie à Faletti, qui l'a introduite dans ses propres mélanges poétiques: cette poésie ne figurant pas dans le recueil de Stopius, était inconnue jusqu'ici. Elle nous apprend en outre que Faletti avait acquis, dans les environs de Venise, une villa portant le nom "La belle ombre"¹⁰⁶. En acceptant l'offre de son ami, Stopius écrivit

Musarum et Charitum decus, Falete,
ad villamque vocas amanter et mi
suades ut referam pedem repente.
Ad Bellam ergo vocas amanter Umbram,
villam, cui reor hoc datum esse nomen
olim ob innumeras amoenitates,
Bella tempore quis abundat omni.
Te praesente nihil potest deesse
quod mentem exhilaret, pater leporum,
Musarum et Charitum decus, Falete.

Voilà d'ailleurs un échantillon typique de la versification de Stopius, dont les répétitions et les jeux de mots lui ont valu un jugement impitoyable de la part d'un de nos plus grands critiques¹⁰⁷.

Résumons. Ce que nous avons voulu démontrer, c'est que Faletti mérite d'être tiré de l'ombre. Vu l'absence totale de recherches à son sujet, nous ne nous sommes pas attardés sur les qualités de sa poésie; nous espérons cependant que les quelques fragments, que nous avons cités, auront convaincu le lecteur du fait qu'il s'agit d'un versificateur doué. En revanche, nous avons essayé de puiser dans ses œuvres des éléments de biographie. Il en ressort que Faletti a entretenu des relations internationales. Faletti est un nom à ajouter aux cercles du Collège des Trois-Langues et un personnage-clé dans la Ferrare littéraire de la période 1546-1560. Son épopée sur la guerre des Flandres est un document de premier ordre qui intéressera les historiens des Pays-Bas. Son recueil poétique nous offre des vers de provenance européenne devant être incorporés dans les études sur divers poètes; quelques-uns en sont des témoignages uniques.

classiques et néo-latines, composée vers 1580 à Tongres par un certain Arnold Bierses. Le poème à Stopius se lit pp. 116-117; au vers 3, Bierses lit *comas* au lieu de *dapes*.

¹⁰⁶ Selon L. Chiappini, *o.c.*, pp. 238-239, Faletti est entré en possession de cette villa après son mariage avec la fille d'Ercole Calcagnini, 'il quale gli lascio il palazzo di Bellombra e molti terreni'.

¹⁰⁷ P.H. Peerlkamp, *Liber de vita, doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina Latina composuerunt* (Harlemi, 1838²), pp. 79-80.

Estelle HAAN

MILTON'S *IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS*
AND THE ANGLO-LATIN GUNPOWDER EPIC

*Quis haec posteris sic narrare poterit, ut facta non ficta esse videantur?*¹ This rhetorical question posed by Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General, at the trials of Guy Fawkes and other conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, 27 January 1606, is one that still recurs almost four centuries later. Scholarship is divided between those who regard the plot as an authentic incident and those who see it as an ingenious fabrication by the Government². This article will not aim to resolve this much-debated issue by arguing for *facta* in favour of *ficta* or vice versa, but will examine a context which has failed to gain the attention it deserves — the poetical treatment which the Gunpowder Plot received in the seventeenth century Anglo-Latin epic³. More specifically it will discuss John Milton's minor Latin epic *In Quintum Novembris* vis-à-vis three more substantial neo-Latin epics on the subject: *Pietas Pontificia* (1606) by Francis Herring, *In Serenissimi regis Iacobi ... Liberationem* (1606) by Michael Wallace and *Locustae vel Pietas Iesuitica* (1611)⁴ by Phineas Fletcher, arguing for a relationship of intertextuality⁵. Indeed

¹ *The Trials of Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Rob. Keyes, Thomas Bates, and Sir Everard Digby, at Westminster, for High Treason, being Conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot: 3 Jac. I. 27th Jan. A.D. 1606* in T.B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials* Vol. II (London 1816), 166.

² Cf. J. Hurstfield, "A Retrospect, Gunpowder Plot and the Politics of Dissent", *Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England* (London 1973), 327-51; M. Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester 1991), 3-4; 214-221.

³ Hitherto the only discussions have been by Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925* (New York 1940), 69-71 and J.W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (Leeds 1990), 38. More useful is Binns's list of gunpowder poems, *ibid.* p. 457 n. 31 (cf. n. 9 below).

⁴ Although not published until 1627, Fletcher's poem exists in manuscript from as early as 1611. See F.S. Boas, ed. *Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher* (Cambridge 1908) I, xi-xvi for an account of the mss. and evidence for dating.

⁵ I define intertextuality as indicating not so much a source or sources for a given text, as the infiltration of that text by other texts or, more generally, by various kinds of discourse. Cf. Barbara Johnson, "Les Fleurs du mal armé: Some Reflections on Inter-

epic can in a sense achieve a reconciliation between *facta* and *ficta* by presenting so-called facts in a fictional guise.

Milton's Latin poem on the Gunpowder Plot mirrors widespread reactions which that event stimulated in the literary, homiletic and political spheres⁶. The particular details of the conspiracy and its eventual interception⁷ provided learned Englishmen with an ideal opportunity to implement the devices and use the language of epic⁸. The age witnessed the appearance of a number of miniature Latin epics (and minor poems)⁹, all of which are marked not only by their strongly anti-papal tone and political content, but also by their apt use of epic machinery to describe a more or less contemporary event. Simultaneously Latin epigrams were produced in vast quantities as the subject was celebrated by schoolboys and *litterati* alike. Milton partakes of the two traditions by composing both a miniature Latin epic and five Latin epigrams on the Gunpowder Plot.

In Quintum Novembris, hitherto regarded by scholars as an interesting anticipation of *Paradise Lost* in its presentation of Satanic envy and

textuality" in *Lyric Poetry*, Chaviva Hošek and Patricia Parker eds. (Ithaca and London 1985), 264-80. She states (p. 264): "intertextuality designates the multitude of ways a text has of not being self-contained, of being traversed by otherness".

⁶ I have discussed these wider contexts in a forthcoming article, "*In Quintum Novembris*: some further neo-Latin and vernacular contexts", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (1993) 42.

⁷ For an account of the events of the conspiracy, see D. Jardine, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (1857); S.R. Gardiner, *History of England* (London 1883) I, 234-64; John Gerard, "What was the Gunpowder Plot" (1897); S.R. Gardiner, "What Gunpowder Plot was" (1897); H.R. Williamson, *The Gunpowder Plot* (London 1951); Nicholls, *op. cit.* 33-43. For a full bibliography of primary and secondary material, see Williamson, 278-92; Nicholls, 229-41.

⁸ For previous attempts at the epic, cf. Bradner, *op. cit.* 69.

⁹ Binns, *op. cit.* 457, lists the following neo-Latins gunpowder poems in addition to those of Herring, Wallace, Fletcher and Milton: Anonymous, *In homines nefarios, qui Parlamenti domum evertere sunt machinati* (Cambridge, 1605); John Barclay, *Series patefacti nuper parricidii in ter maximum regem regnumque cogitati* (London 1605) C2^v-C3^r; Cambridge University, *Epicedium cantabrigiense in obitum Henrici principis Walliae* (Cambridge 1612) K2^v-K3^r; Thomas Campion, *De pulvere coniuratione*, ed. Lindley (1987); Thomas Cooper, *Nonae Novembris aeternitati consecratae* (Oxford 1607); William Gager, *Pyramis*, ed. Brooke (1936); Thomas Goad, *Cithara octochorda pectine pulsata Horatiano cantionem concinens novam, triumphum britannicum* (London 1605); George Goodwin, *Melissa religionis pontificiae* (London 1620), "Elegia" 9 P2^r-Q2^r; James Johnson, *Schediasmata poetica* (London 1615), B3^v; Oxford University, *Iusta Oxoniensium* (London 1612) G4^r; Archibald Simson, *Nobilissimo et summo heroi Alexandro Setono, Eucharisticon de regis et reipublicae salute, Novemb. V. 1605* (St Andrews 1621); Sir John Stradling, *Epigrammatum libri quattuor* (London 1607), K6^r.

malice versus the omnipotence of God¹⁰, ought to be viewed *a priori* in a neo-Latin context¹¹: that of the Anglo-Latin gunpowder epic¹² since, it will be argued, it reflects not only the event per se, but also its literary celebration by Herring, Wallace and Fletcher. Although similarities are inevitable in view of the common subject-matter¹³, there are nevertheless some more easily identifiable parallels which would suggest that Milton was familiar with the treatment of the subject in these Latin hexameter poems¹⁴.

As early as 1606, very soon after the event, Englishmen were using the hexameter to describe in essentially epic terms the thwarted attempt to blow up the House of Lords. Francis Herring (c. 1565-1628)¹⁵ wrote a poem of 493 hexameters, entitled *Pietas Pontificia*¹⁶, which sees the plot as infernally motivated and describes the birth and upbringing of a demonic *monstrum horrendum* (9), who, at the instigation of his mother (a *meretrix* (10)), seeks to avenge the great losses which the papacy has suffered. Disguised as a Jesuit, he travels to England, seduces his victims, assumes the form of Guy Fawkes, seeks to win over accomplices in crime and outlines the plot. He describes the House of Lords and the great assembly which is due to take place there and finally proposes that the only way in which past wrongs can be avenged is to plant gunpowder beneath the House. His words are received with great enthusiasm and applause, and men are selected to make the necessary preparations. The poet intervenes, rebuking the audacity and perfidy of the conspiracy¹⁷ as he envisages the havoc and suffering of what in effect will be a second Fall of Troy. Suddenly however the scene is elevated from the earthly and mortal to the heavenly and divine as God

¹⁰ See, for example, M. Cheek, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*: An Epic Fore-shadowing", *Studies in Philology* 54 (1957), 172-84.

¹¹ For a discussion of Milton's Latin poetry in general vis-à-vis neo-Latin writings, cf. my doctoral dissertation, *John Milton's Latin poetry: Some neo-Latin and vernacular contexts* (The Queen's University of Belfast 1987).

¹² Unlike J.C. Demaray, "Gunpowder and the Problem of Theatrical Heroic Form: *In Quintum Novembris*", *Milton Studies* XIX (1984), 3, I would accept that the poem pertains to the genre of the miniature Latin epic.

¹³ It is evident, for example, that the actual course of events will be reflected in the structural progression of the gunpowder poems.

¹⁴ Demaray's brief list (*op. cit.* 8) of literary works "influencing" (his term) Milton's poem (the anonymous *Pareus* (links with which I have illustrated in my forthcoming article (cf. n. 6)); Marino, *La Strage degl' Innocenti*; Phineas Fletcher, *Locustae* and its accompanying English version *The Apollyonists*) is much too restrictive.

¹⁵ Francis Herring, a physician, was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. BA 1585; MA 1589.

¹⁶ For a list of editions/translations of Herring's poem, see hereafter, p. 253.

¹⁷ Cf. the sardonic tone of Milton's Latin epigrams on the Gunpowder Plot.

the Father (the *Pater omnipotens* (267)) looks down upon the conspiracy and decides to avert the disaster. For this purpose he summons and addresses a winged messenger, who is to warn the King of the danger and dissuade Lord Monteagle¹⁸, to whom a cautionary letter has been sent¹⁹, from attending Parliament. The messenger obeys, the plot is subsequently uncovered and the conspirators are captured. Fama flies through the city and the poem concludes with a lengthy hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God.

Herring writes as the loyal Englishman and devotee of James, the “prudent king” (*Rex prudens* (323)). For him Rome epitomises all that is evil, a whore dwelling in Hell²⁰. It is on “the milk of Rome” that the Satanic monster is weaned (14). The narrative is marked by vivid and highly rhetorical language: for example, the whore’s vituperative speech to her son (lines 21-58). Her role parallels that of Juno in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, indignant at any slight to her divinity and eager to be avenged²¹. Setting too is highly dramatic matched by vivid imagery — Fawkes belching out lethal poison (*eructat letale venenum* (115)). At other times Herring puts detailed descriptions into the mouth of Fawkes himself: for example, the description of the House of Lords and its members radiant in their gleaming robes as they process (168-179). He conveys with realism the stark naivety of the conspirators in their vainglorious endeavours. Elsewhere he seems to be highly conscious of the genre in which he is writing. As Fawkes wins over his accomplices in crime he is likened to the perfidious Sinon (*Mellita Sinonis/verba avide excipiunt* (77-78); *vafrum ... Sinonem* (97)), the Greek schemer in Virgil, *Aeneid* 2, who deceives the Trojans into admitting the Trojan horse within their walls²². Herring even suggests a parallel between himself and Homer (*Da mihi Maeoniden* (234)) — the attempt to recount the consequences of the crime, he says, would surpass even Homer’s resources. Indeed he envisages the explosion as a second Fall of Troy (*flagrantem ... Troiam* (236)). Later, James on reading the anonymous letter to Monteagle, exclaims that some device is being built against them — perhaps another Trojan horse (*Surgit*

¹⁸ On Monteagle, the brother-in law of Francis Tresham (the supposed betrayer of the plot), see Williamson, *op. cit.* 65-70.

¹⁹ For the contents of the letter, cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 301-305.

²⁰ Cf. *Revelation* 17.1-18.

²¹ *Gens inimica mihi* (21) echoes *Aen.* 1.67. Cf. p. 235 below.

²² Cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 77.

nova machina forſan. / Vel Troianus equus ... (332-33)). Consciousness of genre is evident on other levels also, for example, in the implementation of such epic features as the invocation to the Muse (1-5), the summoning of a *monstrum* and its subsequent flight, paralleling Juno's dispatching of Allecto in *Aeneid* 7²³; the *pater omnipotens*, a Jupiter figure, looking down from Heaven/Olympus upon events (267-274)²⁴; his summoning of a winged minion²⁵. A personal note is present also. Forever in control of events, the narrator intervenes to convey his horror at the barbarity of the plot: *Horresco referens totus* (142)²⁶; (*pro scelus!* (254)) and imagines with dismay the terrible consequences — the destruction of London, corpses scattered all about, rivers flowing with blood, lamentation in all homes and streets, and the grim prospect that there would be no survivor to lament the "corpse" (252) of London. But as the poem nears its conclusion Herring seems to move outside the world of epic to incorporate a hymn of thanksgiving to God, which reads like a joyful psalm²⁷, and a tripartite prayer for (1) the British nation — may it be reverent; (2) King James — may he kindle the light of the Gospel, cause justice to flow, be loved by his subjects and achieve great fame and renown; (3) all the lords and people of the kingdom — may they extirpate Catholics "those Cananites, nurslings of the purple whore" (459-60).

The great epic potential of the conspiracy was even more fully realised by Michael Wallace²⁸, who published in the same year a poem of 435 hexameters, entitled *In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi Liberationem*. This poem, though shorter than Herring's, treats the whole in an even

²³ *Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit;/luctificam Allecto Dirarum ab sede dearum/infernisque ciet tenebris (Aen. 7.323-25).*

²⁴ Cf. *Aen.* 1.223-26: *Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo/despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis/litoraue et latos populos, sic vertice coeli/constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.*

²⁵ Cf. Jupiter's summoning of Mercury in *Aen.* 1.297-300.

²⁶ For parallels in Virgil, Goodwin and *The Trial of Henry Garnet*, cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 142.

²⁷ Cf., for example, *Ps.* 9; 27; 30.

²⁸ Little is known about Michael Wallace, who appears on the title-page of his gunpowder epic as *tuae maiestatis observantissimus Michael Valesius, in academia Glasguensi Philosophiae professor*. Wallace, who is not included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was awarded an MA at Glasgow in 1601, the year in which he became Professor of philosophy (cf. Bradner, *op. cit.* 70). In 1610 he acted as referee for a certain David Foules, a Glasgow graduate, seeking admission to Magdalen Hall, Oxford (cf. *Register of the University of Oxford*, ii. (pt. i), 373): J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow 1977), p. 373.

more elaborate fashion. It opens with the speaker's express desire to sing the praises of King James and his abhorrence at the thought that anyone could conceive such an evil plot. Here the infernal setting is much more vividly portrayed as Satan, enraged at the sight of peace, summons a council of demons and vents his anger at the rapid diminution of his own authority and, by contrast, the new surge in piety which the presence and efforts of James have achieved. Abaddon²⁹, one of the infernal crew, suggests that they find someone to tempt, who will wreak vengeance on their behalf. Applauded by all, Abaddon leaves Hell, transforms himself into a Jesuit and addresses Guy Fawkes, whom he regards as ideal for the perpetration of the crime. He informs him of the Opening of Parliament and incites him to plant the explosives. Fawkes gives in, recruits his accomplices and announces the plan. Again the scene shifts as God the Father looks down from Heaven, pities the bitter end in store for the intended victims and laughs at the conspiracy. Gradually the plot is uncovered as Lord Monteagle shows an anonymous letter to the king, who interprets it correctly and orders a thorough inspection of the cellar. The conspirators are captured and the poem concludes with a hymn of thanksgiving to God.

Wallace's treatment is perhaps best summarised by the adjective Virgilian, for he readily adapts without reserve themes and phrases from the *Aeneid*, and even borrows and incorporates whole lines or sometimes a line and a half³⁰. Here it is Satan himself who assumes the role of a second Juno, echoing her words and vibrant rhetoric³¹. As Satan conveys his anger at James's achievements Wallace can simultaneously include an implicit encomium of the king: he has restored holy justice; he has added different nations to his kingdom; he has kindled the light of Christ. Wallace goes further than Herring and is much richer in contemporary detail. He regards the plot as last in a series of schemes to kill or dethrone the king (61-64); (72-74)³². He also

²⁹ For the occurrence of the name in *Revelation* 9.11.1-3 and Thomas Cooper, *Nonae Novembris Aeternitati Consecrati* (Oxford, 1607), cf. my note at *Reg. Lib.* 99.

³⁰ Cf. my notes at *Reg. Lib.* 64-65, 65-66, 70, 71, 72-74, 83-84, 100-101, 102-103, 103-104, 206, 238, 279, 342-43, 375-76.

³¹ For example, lines 64-66 are almost identical to Juno's words in *Aeneid* 7.296-98.

³² These are references to the Gowrie conspiracy; the plot of Lord Grey of Wilton (with Watson), and the Cobham plot of Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry Brooke. Cf. my note *ad loc.*

includes an infernal debate. Abaddon, a second Allecto³³, sows the seeds of the conspiracy. Like the *meretrix* in Herring's poem, he has nurtured and instructed the Roman nation. The reader is given a brief account of Fawkes and his military involvement in The Low Countries (164-66). The envisaged destruction which would be caused by the explosion is likened to that which ensued when Samson brought the palace crashing to the ground (219-222). Wallace also provides more detail as regards the progressive stages of the plot itself: for example, the receiving of the Sacrament of the Eucharist (256)³⁴, the digging of the mine for six months until the point when the cellar presented itself to them (262-65)³⁵. Like Herring, he intervenes, rebuking the audacity of the crime (274-78). Much more vivid is the creation of atmosphere as the fifth dawns: the ill-omens provided by the sun which has lost its normal energy³⁶ and by contrast the resplendent presence of James, who resembles the morning star as he enters clad in his radiant royal vestments. The prospective participants in Parliament are enumerated, and the royal party outlined: the King, Queen, Henry and Charles, Duke of York³⁷. We see also the stubborn resilience of Fawkes as he conveys his regret that the plot did not succeed. Finally, Wallace's hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God is striking in its rhetorical repetition: of *o* in 353-54; *sive iaces* (three times) in 366-68; *lucem illam* (three times) in 369-71; *quanta, quantus* and *quantae* (388-89), and *hunc* (392).

The implementation of the devices and terminology of epic to describe the plot is most fully represented by a much more lengthy and ambitious hexameter poem, entitled *Locustae vel Pietas Iesuitica*³⁸, by Phineas Fletcher. Although not published until 1627 (one year after the composition of *In Quintum Novembris*)³⁹ Fletcher's poem, as noted

³³ Lines 100-104 are almost identical to the description of Allecto in *Aen.* 7.325-26; 335-38.

³⁴ For parallels in contemporary accounts, cf. my note *ad loc.*

³⁵ Cf. my note *ad loc.*

³⁶ Cf. the behaviour of the sun at the death of Caesar in Virgil, *Georgics* 1.466-68: *Ille etiam exstincto miseratus Caesare Romam, / cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit, / impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.*

³⁷ For a similar listing of those due to attend Parliament, cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 218-22.

³⁸ In its ironic reference to "piety" this title may echo Herring's *Pietas Pontificia*.

³⁹ I am accepting 1626 as the date of composition of Milton's poem. For a resumé of scholarly debate on the subject, cf. Douglas Bush, *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton, Vol. I: The Latin and Greek Poems* (London 1970), 168-69.

above, exists in manuscript from as early as 1611⁴⁰ and therefore ought to be viewed in connection with the works by Herring and Wallace as an important forerunner of Milton's poem⁴¹. The *Locustae* opens with an infernal council in which Satan, bitterly indignant at the sight of England at peace and at the religious devotion of her people, proposes revenge and destruction. At this, Aequivocus, a member of the infernal crew, volunteers to travel to Rome and stir up trouble. He leaves Hell, arrives in Italy, witnesses a papal procession, joins an assembly which is addressed by the pope and incites one of the Jesuits to speak. The Jesuit in turn addresses the pope, describes the House of Lords and the opening of Parliament which is due to take place there, proposes to destroy King James and the entire Parliament with one blow and joyfully envisages the suffering which this would cause. The pope applauds the plan and preparations are made. But God the Father witnesses the conspiracy and summons a winged messenger, Aquila, who gradually noises the event abroad with the result that the conspirators are captured. Again the poem concludes with a hymn of thanksgiving to God for protecting his people and for averting such a disaster.

In its mastery of monologue and rhetoric the *Locustae* is undoubtedly the most dramatic of the gunpowder epics. Lengthy speeches serve to create atmosphere and establish character: for example, Satan's address to the infernal crew (10-97); the vivid speech of Aequivocus (120-203); the pope's anxious address to his followers (380-464); the Jesuit's speech outlining the details of the plot (477-583). The poem through such *suasoriae* thus celebrates among other things the power of the spoken word and the rhetoric of persuasion. Fletcher develops, as indeed does Milton, the Roman context of the whole, giving a much more prominent role to the pope than either Herring or Wallace had

⁴⁰ Cf. n. 4 above.

⁴¹ The question of Milton's possible debt to the *Locustae* has not been settled definitively. Some scholars regard Fletcher's poem as Milton's general model (e.g. E.M.W. Tillyard, *Milton* (New York 1930), 22-23; J.H. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton" in his *John Milton: poet and humanist* (Cleveland 1966), 101. This is a misguided viewpoint. Bush, *op. cit.* 170 takes the other extreme, stating that resemblances are only such as would be inevitable in two poems on the same subject and composed by two protestant poets. Demaray, *op. cit.* 8 cites the *Locustae* among the literary works which may have influenced Milton's poem. E.S. Le Comte, *A Milton Dictionary* (New York 1961), 157-58 is of the opinion that "Milton had probably read the *Locustae*".

done. Here the pope is fraught with anxiety in his frantic eagerness to avert disaster from Rome and from the Catholic church. Like Wallace, Fletcher readily implements Virgilian terminology, but with somewhat more reserve. More generally, he adopts such devices as the epic simile (98-106; 402-408); the flight of a demon (204-212), his arrival in Italy (257-263) and his return to Hell (601-605).

As indicated from a brief summary of the basic *argumentum* of each of these three poems, there is an affinity in terms of subject, treatment and overall presentation, despite significant variations within this pattern. An examination of Milton's hexameter poem in this context suggests that he has adapted and remoulded some of these traditional features. *In Quintum Novembris* is striking in its economy of phrase and thought⁴². In a poem less than half the size of the epics of Herring and Wallace and just over one quarter of the length of Fletcher's, Milton, while selecting and condensing material, has still managed to create a very dramatic picture. Even more remarkable is the fact that this is the product not of a mature poet, but of a seventeen year old boy, as described in the poem's superscription — *Anno aetatis 17*⁴³. Milton's versatility as a neo-Latin poet has frequently been acknowledged⁴⁴, but his gunpowder epic, the longest of his Latin poems, is surely a mark of the great skill with which he could celebrate in highly felicitous Latin a topical event.

Like his predecessors, Milton sees Satan as the originator of the plot — a Satan who is enraged at the sight of peaceful England, traverses the earth in an attempt to seduce virtuous hearts to his evil ways, travels to Italy, observes a papal procession and transforms himself into a Franciscan friar. He addresses the pope in a dream-vision, emphasises the gradual decline in papal authority, alludes to the opening of Parliament and suggests that gunpowder should be placed beneath the House. The pope in turn summons his followers and tells them to prepare for the great event. Meanwhile, however, God looks down from on high, laughs at the conspiracy, summons a winged messenger,

⁴² I disagree with Demaray, *op. cit.* 4, who regards the poem as "an episodic and uneven Latin poem, a work which lacks effective structural unity".

⁴³ On Milton's self-conscious dating of his Latin poems, cf. Louis L. Martz, *Poet of Exile* (Yale 1980), 39-43; Haan, *op. cit.* 322.

⁴⁴ For example Samuel Johnson in his *Life* of Milton describes him as "eminently skilled in the Latin tongue" and "the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance" (*Lives of the English Poets* (Everyman 1975, 48).

Fama, and tells her to disclose the truth. Fama obeys, the conspiracy is uncovered and the poem likewise concludes with thanksgiving to God and festive celebrations to mark the event.

This brief summary of *In Quintum Novembris* may already suggest ways in which Milton has adapted, dispensed with or remoulded epic features employed by Herring, Wallace and Fletcher. Where Herring (1-9) and Wallace (1-18) begin with the customary invocation, Milton, like Fletcher, plunges *in medias res*, but where Fletcher introduces a *rex* — Satan himself, the epitome of impiety, Milton presents James, the pious king, the peace-bringing monarch. In describing him as *occulti ... doli securus* (6) he overlooks such plots as that of Watson and Cobham, which were exposed *before* the Gunpowder Plot⁴⁵. In this respect he differs from Herring, who mentions the Watson plot (94), and Wallace, who includes references to the Gowrie conspiracy (61-62) and Cobham plot (72). Absent too are specific details of the Gunpowder Plot itself. Milton, who mentions Fawkes by name in the first gunpowder epigram⁴⁶, does not do so here; there are no references to the digging of the mine, the discovery of the cellar or the anonymous Monteagle letter. It is sufficient here to present the discovery as the consequence of the actions of Rumour: *Fama, bonum quo non aliud veracius ullum* (195)⁴⁷. Indeed the poem seems to distance itself from the intricacies of events in a quasi-impressionistic manner. Detail does occur in respect to description: the sulphur-breathing Satan with fiery eyes and grinding teeth (34-39); the Franciscan habit which he assumes (79-89); the foul abode of the pope and his followers with its rocks and the unburied bones of men and corpses pierced by iron (139-154); the tower of Fame (170-80) and Fama herself with her countless ears, ever-watchful eyes and thousand tongues (181-193). Like Fletcher, Milton develops the Roman context with the result that the plot finds its roots in an altercation between the disguised Satan and the pope himself.

There are many points of contact between Milton's poem and the neo-Latin gunpowder epic tradition. While some of these resemblances may be due to the poets' description of the actual course of events or to a common source in classical Latin epic, parallels are sufficient to

⁴⁵ As noted by Bush, *op. cit.* p. 173.

⁴⁶ *Cum simul in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos/Ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas* (Ep. 1.1-2).

⁴⁷ Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 4.174: *Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum.*

suggest Milton's familiarity with these poems by Herring, Wallace and Fletcher. A close line-by-line analysis of *In Quintum Novembris* in this context will illustrate some general and other more specific features which he seems to adapt.

The opening lines are worthy of special attention in this respect since it could be argued that they contain a verbal and thematic echo of Wallace. Milton alludes to the peace and stability which King James has achieved through uniting the Scots of Caledonia under English rule:

Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto
Teucrigenas populos lateque patentia regna
Albionum tenuit, iamque inviolabile foedus
Sceptra Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Scotis. (1-4)⁴⁸

James has achieved an inviolable treaty (*inviolabile foedus* (3)) by uniting a variety of nations in one kingdom. This unification as denoted by the verb *coniungere*, the noun *sceptrum* and the adjective *Caledonius* finds a parallel in Wallace — a parallel which is all the more striking in view of its similar position near the beginning of the poem. Wallace speaks of a *rex* (James) to whom are subject in a united kingdom Britain, France and Ireland, and whose reins of justice are obeyed by Scotland ("whatever island is washed by the Caledonian Sea"):

cui unitis coniuncta Britannia sceptris,
Francia, Ierna subest, et iustis paret habenis
sparsa Caledonio quaecunque est insula ponto (6-8)⁴⁹

The following verbal links are evident: *coniuncta* (6) / *coniunxerat* (4); *unitis* ... *sceptris* (6) / *sceptra* ... *coniunxerat* (4); *Caledonio* ... *ponto* (8) / *Caledoniis* ... *Scotis* (4). An allusion to this *foedus* (3), while absent from Herring, does occur in Fletcher, *Loc.* 433-34: *iunctum uno foedere triplex / imperium*⁵⁰, but it is only in Wallace and Milton that the *foedus* is explicitly outlined and moreover in terms which are similar.

Milton depicts James as the epitome of *pietas*, as the *pius* ... *Iacobus*

⁴⁸ All quotations from Milton are from *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank A. Patterson (New York: Columbia Univ. Press 1931-40).

⁴⁹ All quotations are from my forthcoming edition (in *Hum. Lov.* 1993) of the London 1606 text.

⁵⁰ All quotations from Fletcher are from Boas's edition. I have numbered the lines and expanded such abbreviations as & to *et* and *q*; to *que*. Because of the length of Fletcher's poem, subsequent notes will cite the page and line number in this edition. The present quotation = Boas, p. 113, 6-7.

(1), the alter Aeneas uniting the *Teucrigenas populos* (2)⁵¹. The parallel is strengthened by the existence of a tradition, expounded by Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, that Britain was founded by Brutus, Aeneas's great-grandson⁵². James is the very antithesis of the pope, whose hypocrisy and essential *impietas* are conveyed by the description of a papal procession which resembles a Bacchic rout. Indeed in Milton the pope is in many respects a parody of Aeneas. This is conveyed through subtle inversion of features from *Aeneid* 4. The arrival of Satan in Italy, preceded by his flight over the Alps (48-53), finds a parallel in Mercury's flight over Mount Atlas and subsequent arrival in Carthage in *Aeneid* 4. 246-255 (to be recalled later in Milton's portrayal of Fama). Mercury's mission was to rebuke Aeneas for dallying in Carthage at the expense of his destiny and the future of his people. Mercury calls him *uxorius* (4.266); in Milton the pope, who is likewise rebuked, is a *secretus adulter* (75), neglecting his duty as he spends the night with his concubine. Satan's address, his express astonishment that the pope can actually sleep amid such turmoil and his injunction that he get up immediately (92-112) recall Mercury's sharp words to the sleeping Aeneas (*Aen.* 4.560-570)⁵³.

Wallace too emphasises the *pietas* of James and contrasts this with the impiety of the pope. Satan refers to James as "that British king too much in love with piety": *nimum pietatis amans rex ille Britannus* (41). Moreover the *impietas* of the pope, which may underlie the ironic titles of the poems by Herring and Fletcher, is more vividly portrayed by Wallace, who contrasts it with the *pietas* of kings in general. In the concluding exhortation to James he is urged to acknowledge God as his leader for it is from him that pious kings receive glory; he is to make impiety shudder at this crime by extirpating papists from his kingdom (*Utque magis scelus et male sanos horreat ausus / impietas, gentem sceptris exscinde nefandam / tricipitis monstri* (408-410)), but he is to cherish those who hold piety dear (*At quibus est pietas et vitae candor amori ...* (417)) and join them to him as his companions (418-419).

⁵¹ For this Trojan connection cf. Herring, who envisages the explosion as causing a second fall of Troy (*P.P.* 236-37).

⁵² Cf. Milton, *El.* 1.73: *Tuque urbs Dardaniis Londinum structa colonis*.

⁵³ The following parallels are evident: *Dormis nate? Etiamne tuos sopor opprimit artus?* (*Q.Nov.* 92) || *nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?* (*Aen.* 4.560); *Surge, age, surge, piger* (*Q.Nov.* 97) || *Heia age, rumpe moras* (*Aen.* 4.569).

In Milton James is the antithesis to Satan himself. *In Quintum Novembris* achieves a direct contrast between the constructive mission of James and the destructive mission of Satan, who traverses the earth, recruits his accomplices, causes hatred among friends and ensnares the virtuous.

Forte per immensum terrarum erraverat orbem,
Dinumerans sceleris socios, vernasque fideles,
Participes regni post funera moesta futuros. (9-11)

Where James had secured *late ... potentia regna* (2) on earth, Satan seeks to win over men who will participate in his kingdom of Hell (11)⁵⁴.

The notion of an evil character recruiting his accomplices in crime⁵⁵ occurs in some of the gunpowder poems under discussion. In Herring the demon, like Milton's Satan, seeks out and captures his intended victims (*Prensat ubique homines* (68))⁵⁶ — "men excessively burning with love of the whore (of Rome)" (68-69). Later in the poem Fawkes, disguised as Percy's attendant, belches out deadly poison and wins many over to his wicked deed: (*eructat letale venenum/secure et sceleris trahit ad consortia multos* (115-116)). In Wallace Fawkes recruits as his accomplices men already infected by Satan: *ascitisque sibi sociis scelerumque magistris / quos simili serpens feritate inflavit Avernus* (252-253)). There is a similarity between Wallace's *scelerumque magistris* (252) and Milton's *fraudumque magister* (17)⁵⁷, used in the more specific sense of Satan.

If James is a second Aeneas, Satan assumes the role of a second Juno forever hostile towards the virtuous hero and endeavouring to intercept his every act. Milton emphasises Satan's anger at the sight of peace and prosperity and at the populace's devotion to God versus the rapid decline in his own power. This gives rise to an embittered outburst of indignation:

⁵⁴ This line, as Bush notes (*op. cit.* 174), contains an ironic contrast with Christ's followers destined to partake of the Kingdom of Heaven.

⁵⁵ Cf. Vida's description of the wandering demons in *Christiad* 1.156-159.

⁵⁶ All quotations are from my edition (in this volume) of the London 1606 text.

⁵⁷ Cf. "Artificer of fraud", *Paradise Lost* 4.121.

At simul hanc opibusque et festa pace beatam⁵⁸
 Aspicit, et pingues donis Cerealibus agros,
 Quodque magis doluit, venerantem numina veri
 Sancta Dei populum, tandem suspiria rupit
 Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur. (31-35)

The language is vivid; the sibilants of 31-34 and alliteration of *l* in 35 convey Satan's seething anger. The theme occurs in both Wallace and Fletcher. Wallace describes Satan's bitter resentment as he sees cities at peace, kingdoms undisturbed and people living their lives in tranquillity as a consequence of the efforts of James. He glows with a goading surge of envy:

Dux Erebi, reprobæ parent cui sæcula sortis,
 cum late placidas urbes pacataque regna,
 tranquilla et populos degentes pace videret,
 quemque sua sub vite suæque sub arboris umbra
 auspiciis, Iacobe, tuis, clarissime regum,
 continuo invidiæ stimulantî incanduit aestu. (21-26)

Thematic and possible verbal links are evident. In both Milton and Wallace Satan is enraged by the sight (*aspicit* (32) / *cum .../... videret* (22-23)) of peace — in Milton the land is blessed with *festa pace* (31); in Wallace cities are at peace (*placidas urbes* (22)), kingdoms are quiet (*pacataque regna* (22)) and people are living in *tranquilla ... pace* (23).

Fletcher's lines are not as close to Milton's since they convey the entire notion in direct speech. Satan asks his crew: *Cernitis, ut superas mulcet Pax aurea gentes?* (12)⁵⁹

One of the reasons for the disintegration of the power of evil is the keen religious devotion which King James has fostered. Milton states that the populace venerates the sacred power of the true God (*venerantem numina veri/Sancta Dei populum* (33-34)). Although there is no reference to James in this instance, the lines can be examined against the background of previous allusions to the increase in piety achieved largely as a consequence of the King's endeavours and, more specifically, of his version of the Bible. In Wallace Satan complains that James removes the darkness of wrongdoing and zealously applies himself to kindling the heavenly light of Christ (*Christi coelestem*

⁵⁸ *Hanc* = *terram* (26), i.e. Britain.

⁵⁹ Boas, p. 102, 12.

accendere lucem/sedulus incumbit (57-58)) and overthrowing hell; in Fletcher Satan announces this more explicitly:

Quin etiam sancti vulgata Scientia Scripti
Invexit superos terris, et luce corusca
Dissolvit tenebras, noctemque excussit inertem. (20-22)⁶⁰

The identification of an angry demon with the indignant Juno of Virgil's *Aeneid* is common to Herring, Wallace, Fletcher and Milton. In Herring, the *meretrix* refers to the British people as a *gens inimica mihi* (21), a direct echo of Juno's complaint about the Trojan nation (*Aen.* 1.67). She proclaims herself a powerful queen: *Sum regina potens* (49) just as Juno had done (*Ast ego, quae divum incedo regina* (*Aen.* 1.46)). In Wallace Satan's frustration at his inability to destroy James (59-66) is conveyed in terms strikingly reminiscent of Juno's speech in *Aeneid* 7.293-297⁶¹. Later at 83-84 his rhetorical question as to who will worship the name of the Beast or place offerings upon his altars closely recalls Juno's words in *Aeneid* 1.48-49. Such Virgilian parallels are also evident in Fletcher, but he adapts them in such a way that it is the pope rather than Satan who is identified with Juno. Thus the pope's despairing question: *quisquam Romanum numen adoret* (391)⁶² echoes Juno at *Aeneid* 1.48. It is as if the pope himself can serve as a Satanic figure. In Milton the parallel is thematic rather than verbal. Satan is enraged at the fact that the British nation is the only one which has rebelled against him, disdained his authority and proven more powerful than his art: *gens haec mihi sola rebellis, / Contemtrixque iugi, nostraque potentior arte* (41-42). In *Aeneid* 1 Juno will not admit defeat in her endeavour to obstruct Aeneas's destiny (*Mene incepto desistere victam?* (*Aen.* 1.37)). It is with this one nation that she has been waging war for so many years: *una cum gente tot annos / bella gero* (*Aen.* 1.47-48).

One point of contrast between Milton's poem and the gunpowder epics of Wallace and Fletcher is the absence of an infernal council⁶³. Although Milton dispenses with this epic device, perhaps the council of

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 102, 20-22.

⁶¹ Cf. my notes at *Reg. Lib.* 59-60; 61-64; 64-65; 65-66.

⁶² Boas, p. 112, 4.

⁶³ In Wallace, Satan summons his crew: *infernusque furens ad limina taetra ministros/ concilium crudele vocat* (27-28); Fletcher's poem opens as follows: *Panditur Inferni limen, patet intima Ditis/Ianua, concilium magnum, Stygiosque Quirites/Accitos, Rex ipse nigra in penetralia cogit* (1-3) (Boas, p. 102, 1-3).

allegorical figures summoned by the pope (139-165) could be regarded as a displacement of the infernal council which, in view of previous gunpowder poems, one might have expected to see at the beginning of the whole — a point which is emphasised by the equation of the pope with Satan and the Vatican with Hell.

Milton describes Satan's flight as he sets out to cause trouble. As he glides through the air the winds rush in front of him, the clouds grow dense and there is a thunderstorm:

Hactenus; et piceis liquido natat aere pennis;
Qua volat, adversi praecursant agmine venti,
Densantur nubes, et crebra tonitrua fulgent. (45-47)

The swimming through the air and the description of the clouds becoming dense recall Lucan, *BC* 5.554⁶⁴ and 4.76-78⁶⁵ respectively. But the account of the flight of a demon from Hell to the upper air and its subsequent effect upon the world of nature — the unleashing of a storm — occurs in both Wallace and Fletcher. The parallel with Wallace (147-156) is more specific in its reference to lightning flashing through clouds. Abaddon leaves Hell and flies through the upper regions of the sky. As he does so, he stains the rays of the sun and bursts through the sky with a dreadful howl. The waves resound, mountains groan and a thunderstorm ensues:

Ille igitur fera coepta premens superas super auras
continuo taetris Cocyti horrendus ab antris
se levat. Hunc comites Fraus Proditioque sequuntur,
et lateri Scelus omne, Nefas, Audacia adhaerent.
Egressus medio Phoebi pallentis in aestu
infecit radios ululatuque aethera rupit
horrendo. Sonuere undae, montesque cavernis
ingemuere cavis. Ferae Britannia murmur
praesensit: Tamesis revolutis torpuit undis,
sanguinei et tot rutilarunt aethere nimbi. (147-156)

Wallace's account is of course much more vivid in the portrayal of personified inhabitants of Hell who accompany Abaddon, and in the ill-omens which occur — the Thames rolling its waves backwards⁶⁶, the clouds glowing blood-red in the sky.

⁶⁴ *Ardea sublimis pinnae confisa natanti.*

⁶⁵ *Densantur in imbres/ ... nec servant fulmina flammas/Quamvis crebra micent.*

⁶⁶ For the ill-omen of waves flowing backwards, cf. Horace. *C.1.2.13-14: vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis/litore Etrusco violenter undis.*

A parallel passage occurs in Fletcher. Aequivocus leaves Hell. His flight through the air is likewise accompanied by a series of omens: the earth trembles, the sun hastens its course and the darkness of night falls upon the earth:

Dixit; et illaeti perfracto limine Avernī
Exiliit primus, lucemque invasit apertam.
Insequitur deforme Chaos; ruit omne barathrum,
Foeda, horrenda cohors: trepidant pallentia coeli
Lumina, et incerto Tellus tremit horrida motu.
Ipse pater pronos laxatis Ph[oe]bus habenis
Praecipitat currus, et coelo territus exit.
Succedit nox umbrarum, coelumque relictum
Invadit, multaque premit caligine terras. (204-212)⁶⁷

Milton proceeds to describe Satan's arrival in Rome:

Iamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes,
Et tenet Ausoniae fines, a parte sinistra
Nimbifer Appenninus erat, priscique Sabini,
Dextra veneficiis infamis Hetruria, nec non
Te furtiva Tiberis Thetidi videt oscula dantem;
Hinc Mavortigenae consistit in arce Quirini. (48-53)

While the lines bear some points of contact with Lucan⁶⁸ and Virgil⁶⁹, it is noteworthy that Fletcher has a parallel passage:

Interea toto dum bella seruntur in orbe,
Italiam Aequivocus magnam, et Tiberina fluenta
Adveniēns, intrat feralis moenia Romae. (257-259)⁷⁰

Milton's description of the "Tiber giving furtive kisses to Thetis" is more elaborate than Fletcher's simple *Tiberina fluenta*.

Both poems contain an account of a procession (*ordine longo* (*Loc.* 374); *series longissima* (*Q.Nov.* 58))⁷¹ of the pope and his *fratres*. In Milton the pope is *tricornifer* (55) as he carries the Blessed Sacrament. The derogatory phrase *panificosque deos* (56) used in this context finds a parallel in *triticeosque deos* in Herring 280, a term employed, ironically, by God himself as he warns the heavenly hosts of the evils of Catholi-

⁶⁷ Boas, p. 107, 17-25.

⁶⁸ Line 48 recalls Lucan, *BC* 1.183: *Iam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes*.

⁶⁹ Cf. the flight and descent of Mercury in *Aeneid* 4.246-251.

⁷⁰ Boas, p. 108, 30-32.

⁷¹ Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.641: *series longissima rerum*; Vida, *Chr.* 3.121: *series longissima patrum*.

cism if the plot were to succeed⁷². Mendicant friars walk ahead, chanting in a candle-lit procession which resembles a Bacchic rout (55-67). In the *Locustae* Aequivocus enters the *mitrati tecta Tyranni* (260)⁷³. Later (368-379) Fletcher describes a gathering of *fratres* in the midst of whom sits the pope, whose head is crowned with a threefold diadem (*diademate ... / ... triplici* (377-378))⁷⁴. But although Milton seems to echo Fletcher at this point, his subsequent description of Satan's transformation into a Franciscan friar is wholly unparalleled in the *Locustae*, in which Aequivocus merely puts words into the mouth of a Jesuit in an attempt to win over the pope (475-476).

Milton's description, as commentators have noted⁷⁵, contains some clear thematic and verbal echoes of Buchanan's *Somnium* (*Fratres Fraterrimi* 34) and *Franciscanus*. The *Somnium* may have given Milton the idea of presenting a Franciscan in a dream-vision⁷⁶. In Buchanan's poem St. Francis himself appears to the speaker and attempts to recruit him to his order:

Cum mihi Franciscus nodosa cannabe cinctus,
Astitit ante torum stigmata nota gerens.
In manibus sacra vestis erat, cum fune galerus,
Palla, fenestratus calceus, hasta, liber. (5-8)⁷⁷

Lines 78-89 of *In Quintum Novembris* are worthy of comparison. Like Buchanan (6), Milton has the emphatic positioning of *Astitit* (80); he too uses the phrase *fenestratus calceus* to describe the sandals (*Tarda fenestratis figens vestigia calceis* (85)). In both it is St. Francis / a Franciscan who attempts to seduce the listener and dreamer to his point of view. Milton's simile of St. Francis (86-89) highlights the parallel⁷⁸.

⁷² Cf. Buchanan, *Franciscanus* 740: *de pane ut numen faciant*.

⁷³ Boas, p. 108, 33.

⁷⁴ Boas, p. 111, 30-31. Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 46: *concussum est triplici regnum diademate fulgens*; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 94: *cathedram ... tuam diademaque triplex*.

⁷⁵ E.g. Bush, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

⁷⁶ Buchanan's *Somnium* itself is based on a poem by William Dunbar, entitled "How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Frier". Cf. D.A. Millar, ed. *George Buchanan: A Memorial* (London 1907), 262.

⁷⁷ Text: *Poemata Quae Extant* (Amsterdam 1687), 2.293.

⁷⁸ It is also possible that Milton is echoing two passages from the *Franciscanus*: *O sanctum, festumque diem! cum cannabe cinctus, / Obrasumque caput duro vellante cucullo, / Auspiciis, Francisce, tuis animo insitus astris / Praecipiam aetheream terreno in corpore vitam* (*Poemata Quae Extant* (Amsterdam 1687) 1.260, 19-22); *Attamen haud quoties longo sub syrmate rasum / Cerno caput, tortum funem, latumque galerum, / Atque fenestratum soleas captare cothurnum, / Cernere me Paulum credo* (*Ibid.*, p. 261, 6-9).

While such resemblances are close, it has not been pointed out that Milton had yet another precedent for the transformation of a demon into a member of a religious order and, even more importantly, a precedent afforded by the gunpowder poems under discussion. In Herring the demonic *monstrum* assumes the guise of a priest: *mystam simulans* (61) as he attempts to deceive mankind (59-63). Much more detailed and closer to Milton's lines is a passage in Wallace's poem describing Abaddon's transformation into a Jesuit: he changes his black head into white, assumes the form of a Jesuit, advances in a long cloaked habit and seeks to find someone suited to the evil crime:

Tunc in canitiem nigranti vertice verso
 protinus unius faciem vultumque cohortis
 infaustae primam quam condidit ignis et Ate
 ore eiecta feri foeda excrementa draconis,
 mentito quae nomen habent a nomine Iesu,
 induitur, longaeque incedens syrmate abollae
 vestigat sceleri tanto quem destinet aptum. (157-163)

Both Wallace and Milton describe the white hair (*in canitiem* (157) / *assumptis ... canis* (80)); the long habit (*longaeque ... syrmate abollae* (162) / *cineracea longo ... Syrmate verrit humum vestis* (81-82), and convey the notion that he has to pick his steps (*vestigat* (163) / *Tarda ... figens vestigia* (85)). So although Milton seems to echo Buchanan in one or two details, it should not go unnoticed that both Herring and Wallace had already presented a demon as a member of a religious order in a gunpowder poem. Furthermore Wallace, like Milton, gives him a lengthy speech intended to incite the listener to plant the explosives. In both instances the disguise is a subtle and successful means of achieving this end. In Wallace Abaddon introduces himself as a Jesuit (*namque ego sum sanctis de fratribus unus, Iesus / queis nomen dedit* (181-182)); Milton's Satan resembles St. Francis (*Talis, uti fama est, vasta Franciscus eremo / Tetra vagabatur ...* 86-87)). In both poems the disguised demon assumes false voices: *talibus aggreditur simulati vocibus oris* (174); *subdolus at tali Serpens velatus amictu / solvit in has fallax ora execrantia voces* (90-91).

There follows a common general pattern which is identifiable in most of the gunpowder poems: (1) the speaker emphasises the decline in the power of the Catholic Church; (2) he mentions the assembly which is due to take place in the House of Lords; (3) he explicitly states that gunpowder should be planted there.

In Wallace the disguised Abaddon outlines the contempt and persecution which the Catholic faith has suffered under James: grave destruction threatens the pope as a consequence of the deeds of James. The faith will never be free of persecution as long as James is on the throne, unless a timely remedy is sought (185-190); in Fletcher the Jesuit spokesman alludes to the rapid decline in the power of the papacy (477-480): it is a *caducum*/ ... *regnum* (478-479)⁷⁹; in Milton the disguised Satan makes the same point: the British nation scorns the papacy and the laws of the Catholic church:

Dum cathedram venerande tuam, diademaque triplex
 Ridet Hyperboreo gens barbara nata sub axe,
 Dumque pharetrati spernunt tua iura Britannii. (94-96)

All four poems describe the Lords as they assemble for the opening of Parliament. Milton differs from his predecessors however in that he does not describe the actual House of Lords. He is selective in his detail, a measure of his economy. Nevertheless Satan does mention the *consilium* and its members (116-118). Herring (168-176), Wallace (202-211) and Fletcher (556-567) are much more explicit at this point. Herring enumerates the members of the royal family who are due to attend and describes their resplendent vestments; Wallace, adopting Virgilian language, describes the house as a *tectum augustum, ingens* (202)⁸⁰, a majestic, massive building which has a splendid entrance rising upon many steps and supported by high columns (202-211), but postpones the enumeration of the participants and the account of the royal family until the actual arrival of the fatal day (286-305). Fletcher describes the House in all its splendour: *Stat bene nota domus, saxo constructa vetusto, / Marmore caelato, et Pariis formosa columnis* (556-557)⁸¹.

In all four instances the majesty of the setting is undercut by an explicit reference to gunpowder and to the destruction which the explosion, if successful, would cause. Thus Herring follows his description by an allusion to gunpowder. Fawkes states that it would be easy to plant gunpowder (*furiosas ... flammās*) beneath the House and blow up the King as he speaks and the lords as they listen in silence:

⁷⁹ Boas, p. 114, 11-12.

⁸⁰ Cf. the description of Latinus's palace as *tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis* (*Aen.* 7.170).

⁸¹ Boas, p. 116, 9-10.

Aedibus hic facile est furiosas subdere flammās
 atque perorantem regem proceresque silentes
 turbine sulphureo sublimes mittere in auras. (177-179)

Wallace uses the same technique, although he describes the whole in much greater detail. Abaddon advises Fawkes to hire a cellar, fill it with gunpowder, camouflaging this with rocks and iron⁸². Then when the king and his procession enter, the whole building will be destroyed in an explosion:

Aut hac forte viam facilem si fata negarint,
 aulae suppositam cameram conducite magnae.
 Viribus hanc summis totam tacitoque labore,
 pulvere sulphureo, saxis ferroque replete.
 His igni accensis simul atque subiverit altam
 ordinibus regni princeps comitantibus aulam,
 sternantur subito lacerata a sedibus imis
 magnae fundamenta domus, cunctosque superne
 vi rapida secum tollant verrantque per auras. (223-231)

Likewise in Fletcher the description of the House of Lords is followed by reference to gunpowder as the Jesuit leader joyfully imagines the destruction and suffering which the explosion would cause. Aequivocus describes the cellar and announces his intention to store gunpowder here. Fletcher goes further than his predecessors in depicting the demon's delight as he envisages the havoc:

At latebrae subter caecae, magnisque cavernae
 Excurrunt spatiis, multo loca foeta Lyaeo.
 His tacite nitrum et viventia sulphura tectis
 Subiiciam, Stygioque implebo pulvere sedes.
 Ut numero primum crescunt subsellia iusto,
 Et semel intumuit pleno domus alta Senatu,
 Tecta ruam: iuvat horrendos procul aure fragores
 Excipere, et mistas latoribus aere leges
 Correptas spectare: iuvat semusta virorum
 Membra, omnesque supra volitantes aethere Reges
 Cernere: rupta gemet Tellus, et territa coeli
 Dissilient spatia; ast alto se gurgite praeceps
 Thamisis abscondet, mirabitur aethera Pluto,
 Et trepidi fugient immisso lumine manes. (570-583)⁸³

⁸² For parallel references in contemporary documents, cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 208-9.

⁸³ Boas, p. 116, 23-26.

Milton employs the same technique in miniature. After mentioning the great assembly of Lords, Satan states:

Hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras⁸⁴,
Atque dare in cineres, nitrati pulveris igne
Aedibus iniecto, qua convenere, sub imis. (119-21)

The adverb *membratim* (119) may recall the *semusta virorum/Membra* in Fletcher (578-579). Milton's *conspergere in auras* (119) can be compared with Herring, *sublimes mittere in auras* (179) and Wallace, *verrantque per auras* (231). In Milton, as in Herring (177), the gunpowder is to be placed *aedibus...sub imis* (121).

In all four poems the plot meets with approval. In Herring Fawkes receives applause and acclaim, and Catesby welcomes the plot as an excellent one (180-182); in Wallace Fawkes, seduced by Abaddon's words, promises to execute the plan, avowing his allegiance and is prepared to die to achieve this end (246-249); in Fletcher the plan is applauded by all and by the pope in particular:

Dixerat: applaudunt omnes, magis omnibus ipse
Consilium laudat sanctus Pater, ipse labantis
Patronum Romae laeto sic ore salutat:
Dii Patribus fausti semper, cultique Latinis,
Non omnino tamen moriturae moenia Romae
Deseritis, tales cum animos, et tanta tulistis
Pectora, iam versis Latium florescere fatis
Aspicio, effoetamque iterum iuvenescere Romam. (584-591)⁸⁵

The lines echo the response of Aletes to the ill-starred plan volunteered by Nisus and Euryalus in *Aeneid* 9.247-250⁸⁶.

In Milton the pope's approval is implicit as he immediately summons a council and follows Satan's instructions, saying:

Tartareoque leves diffientur pulvere in auras
Et rex et pariter satrapae, scelerata propago. (161-162)

This may be a displacement of the infernal council which in view of the gunpowder epic tradition one might have expected at an earlier stage in

⁸⁴ *Hos* = King, Lords etc. (116-18).

⁸⁵ Boas, p. 116, 37-40 — p. 117, 1-4.

⁸⁶ "Di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,/non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis./cum tales animos iuvenum et tam certa tulistis/pectora".

the poem. The members are presented as a host of allegorical figures reminiscent of epic descriptions of the Underworld (139-154)⁸⁷.

Milton undermines the bold attempt of the pope and his followers by depicting God the Father looking down from Heaven, laughing at the conspiracy and defending the "cause" of "his own people".

Interea longo flectens curvamine coelos
Despicit aetherea dominus qui fulgurat arce,
Vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae,
Atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri. (166-169)

The theme recurs in lines 220-222:

Attamen interea populi miserescit ab alto
Aethereus Pater, et crudelibus obstitit ausis
Papicolum.

This occurs at precisely the same point in Herring, Wallace and Fletcher. Moreover Milton seems to echo their descriptions in one or two details.

Herring emphasises God's ever-watchful eye (*vigilans .../... oculus* (269-270)), which creeps about everywhere throughout the world, surveying all lands, seas and invisible secret places concealed in darkness, and observing the danger which is in store for the King and the people of Britain (267-276)⁸⁸. In Wallace nothing can hide from the sight of God. In his eternity he governs the progress of life and death. He looks out from Heaven upon the plot, laughs at the conspiracy and pities the end in store for His people:

At pater omnipotens, cuius mortalia ab alto
cuncta patent oculis, vitae qui tempus ab aevo
ire necisque iubet mundum ratione gubernans
aeterna, insidias prospexit ab aethere caecas,
et dedignatus sceleris coepta effera saevi
totque viros simul insignes, clarissima cunctae
lumina Christiados, miseranda morte perire,
principis interitum innocui, regnique ruinam
atque sui casum populi miseratus acerbum,
impia pestiferae elusit molimina turbae,
nocte Erebiq[ue] satum reserans scelus omne tenebris (306-316).

⁸⁷ Cf. Virgil's description of Hell's gate and its personified inhabitants (*Aen.* 6.273-281).

⁸⁸ For parallels in visual representations of the Gunpowder Plot, cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 270.

Milton's lines echo Wallace in a specific sense. In his depiction of God laughing at the conspiracy and his wish to defend his own people (168-169), Milton has in fact inverted Wallace (314-315):

WALLACE	MILTON
A	B
<i>Atque sui casum populi miseratus acerbum</i> (314)	<i>Vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae</i> (168)
B	A
<i>Impia pestiferae elusit molimina tur- bae</i> (315)	<i>Atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri</i> (169)

Milton's phrase *vana...ridet conamina* (168) may echo Fletcher's description of Christ's scorn in *Locustae* 256: *vana manu conamina ludas?*⁸⁹ Later, Fletcher depicts God the Father looking down from Heaven (*Ast oculos summo interea deflexit Olympo/Ille Pater rerum* (702-703))⁹⁰ and beholding the plot (702-707).

In all four poems God decides to terminate the whole by revealing the truth in an enigmatic way. Milton's God summons and addresses a winged messenger, Fama, and informs her that papists are plotting against him and the British people (199-203). Fama puts on her wings, carries her brazen trumpet and sets out on her flight, scattering uncertain murmurs through the cities and revealing the truth only gradually (208-216).

While this device finds classical precedent⁹¹, it is also implemented by both Herring and Fletcher at this point in the poem. Moreover the subsequent progression of the passages is similar. In Herring God summons a winged messenger from his angelic host and instructs him to hasten to England and warn the king in a dream of the danger in store (292-308); the messenger obeys and flies away to noise the conspiracy abroad (309-315).

There are two further links between Milton and Herring at this

⁸⁹ Boas, p. 108, 29.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119, 35-36.

⁹¹ Cf. *Aen.* 1.297-302.

point: firstly, the reference to the utter amazement felt by mankind when the plot is eventually uncovered. Milton states:

...stupere relatis,
Et pariter iuvenes, pariter tremuere puellae,
Effaetique senes pariter, tantaeque ruinae
Sensus ad aetatem subito penetraverat omnem. (216-219)⁹²

Herring conveys a similar emotion as everyone proclaims by heaven and earth the abominable portent and extraordinary deed:

Exclamant omnes coelum terramque nefandum
prodigium facinusque novum, cui tale nec unquam
intima barbaries vidit nec Turcica tellus. (383-385)

Secondly, Herring, like Milton, describes the flight of Fama. She flies through city and court, spreading herself through all the streets:

Extemplo magnam volitavit Fama per urbem
perque aulam, longe et late velociter omnes
amplae pervadit vicos regionis. Ubique
ingens laetitia et sublatae ad sidera palmae. (388-391)

It should be noted however that the role of Fama in Herring's poem is to proclaim the fact that the conspiracy has been uncovered and the conspirators captured. In Milton, on the other hand, it is Fama herself who discloses the plot.

While there is no winged messenger in Wallace, there is a kindred sense of the initial puzzlement and the gradual means by which the truth is revealed. Monteagle receives an anonymous letter (319-322). It is only later that the plot is fully uncovered (*Fit tandem manifesta fides, caecaeque patescunt/insidiae* (342-343))⁹³.

In Fletcher, as in Herring, God summons a winged messenger. This time it is an eagle (probably a pun on "Monteagle") (707-712)⁹⁴; the messenger obeys (716-719). Monteagle, puzzled by the letter, ponders

⁹² For the consternation felt by the king *et al.*, cf. the letter of Nicolò Molin, the Venetian ambassador to England, addressed to the Doge and the Senate, 21 November 1605: "The King is in terror; he does not appear, nor does he take his meals in public as usual. He lives in the innermost rooms, with only Scotchmen about him. The Lords of the Council also are alarmed and confused by the plot itself and the King's suspicions". (*Cal. State Pap.*, Venice 10. 293: (Quoted by W. MacKellar, *The Latin Poems of John Milton* (Cornell 1930), p. 287).

⁹³ Cf. *Aen.* 2.309-310: *tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt/insidiae.*

⁹⁴ Cf. Fletcher, *Apollyonists*, Canto 5.13.1: "That mounting Eagle forth he suddaine calls". (Boas, p. 178).

over its contents again and again. Not even Oedipus could solve this riddle (*Non si Oedipus author/spondeat, hos animo speres rescindere nodos* (742-743))⁹⁵ Fletcher's use of the Oedipus motif recalls *Pietas Pontificia* 313-315. There the king is seen as a second Oedipus as he is able to interpret the letter correctly:

principis et miro collustrat acumine mentem,
solvere quo obscuris perplexa aenigmata nodis
extemplo et facile possit velut Oedipus alter. (313-315)

At last the puzzle is solved by the King (750-753).

One final point common to all four gunpowder poems is their culmination in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God for averting the disaster. Milton states that incense is offered up to God, there is merry-making at every crossroads and the fifth of November is set aside as a special day for celebration⁹⁶:

At pia thura Deo, et grati solvuntur honores⁹⁷;
Compita laeta focis genialibus omnia fumant;
Turba choros juvenilis agit: Quintoque Novembris
Nulla Dies toto occurrit celebrator anno. (223-226)

Herring likewise concludes in a hymn of praise to God, thanking him for saving the British people destined for destruction. He alone watches over them (392-398).

Milton's statement that there will be festivities at every crossroads balances Herring's promise that honour and praise will be rendered to God in all temples, dwellings and villages:

Nosque tuum numen, tua facta ingentia festis
carminibus gratisque animis celebrabimus usque.
Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque sonabunt⁹⁸
omnibus in templis, domibus vicisque pagisque
Albionis, cultusque tuus florebit in illa,
igniferos Phoebus dum coeli circulat orbes. (488-493)

A similar pattern can be observed in Wallace. He praises the goodness

⁹⁵ Boas, p. 120, 35-36.

⁹⁶ This reflects an actual order issued by Parliament. Cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 488-493.

⁹⁷ *Pia thura* is a stock phrase (e.g. Ovid *Am.* 3.3.33; Tibullus 2.2.3; Lucan *BC* 9.996). Cf. *Locustae* 596-97: *ipse tibi vota, et pia thura frequenter/imponam* (Boas, p. 117, 9-10).

⁹⁸ Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 5.78; *Aen.* 1.609; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 238; Fletcher, *Loc.* 789.

and justice which God has shown to the people of Britain (353-354). All are to celebrate God's praises:

Hunc igitur laude, hunc sacris concentibus omnes
et memori celebrent fama matresque virique
longaevique senes, pueri innuptaeque puellae⁹⁹,
ignota de plebe inopes et sanguine clari. (392-395)

Finally, Fletcher has a parallel passage in a comparable position. In a rhetorical question he asks what praises can mankind render to God, and promises eternal honour and reverence:

Dum domus aeterno stabit pulcherrima saxo,
Pulvere sulphureo, et tantis erepta ruinis,
Dum tumidis Nereus undarum moenibus Anglos
Sospitet, et tundat liventes aequore clivos,
Semper honos, semperque tuum solenne Britannis
Nomen erit; te, Magne Pater, te voce canemus,
Factaque per seros dabimus memoranda nepotes. (785-791)¹⁰⁰

In Quintum Novembris can be placed generically among the miniature Latin epics on the Gunpowder Plot. Milton, like his predecessors, describes the conspiracy and its interception in epic terms and even employs the same epic devices at the same key points of the poem. In short, in its treatment of the subject, its overall presentation and often in its terminology, Milton's poem contains a number of specific and other more general parallels with the gunpowder poems of Herring, Wallace and Fletcher. These are illustrated in Figures 1, 2 and 3¹⁰¹.

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⁹⁹ Cf. Virgil, *G.*, 4.476; *Aen.* 2.238; 6.307.

¹⁰⁰ Boas, p. 121, 38-40 — p. 122, 1-4.

¹⁰¹ I wish to express my thanks to Professor Michael McGann for his advice and useful suggestions in the preparation of this article.

FIGURE 1

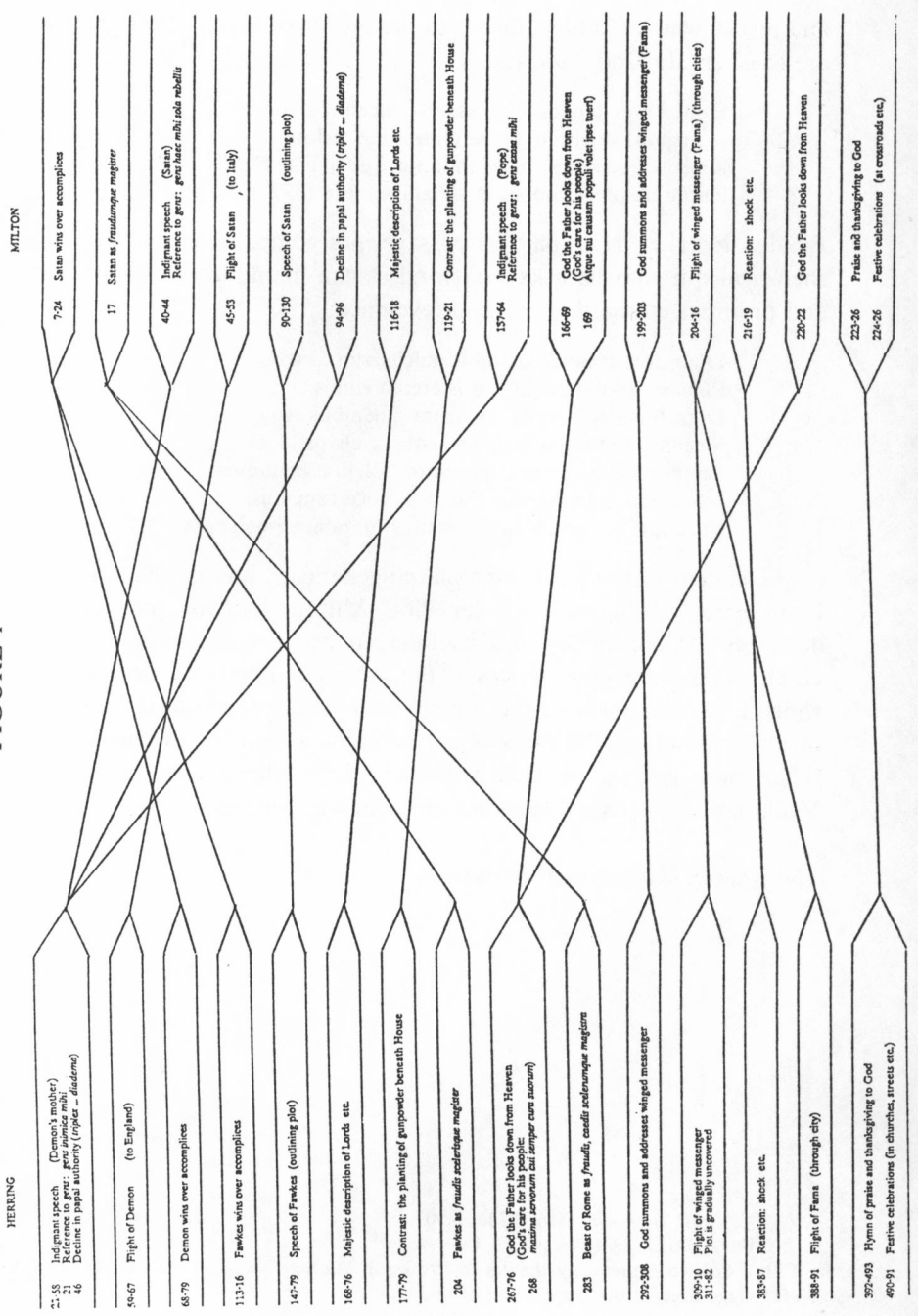


FIGURE 2

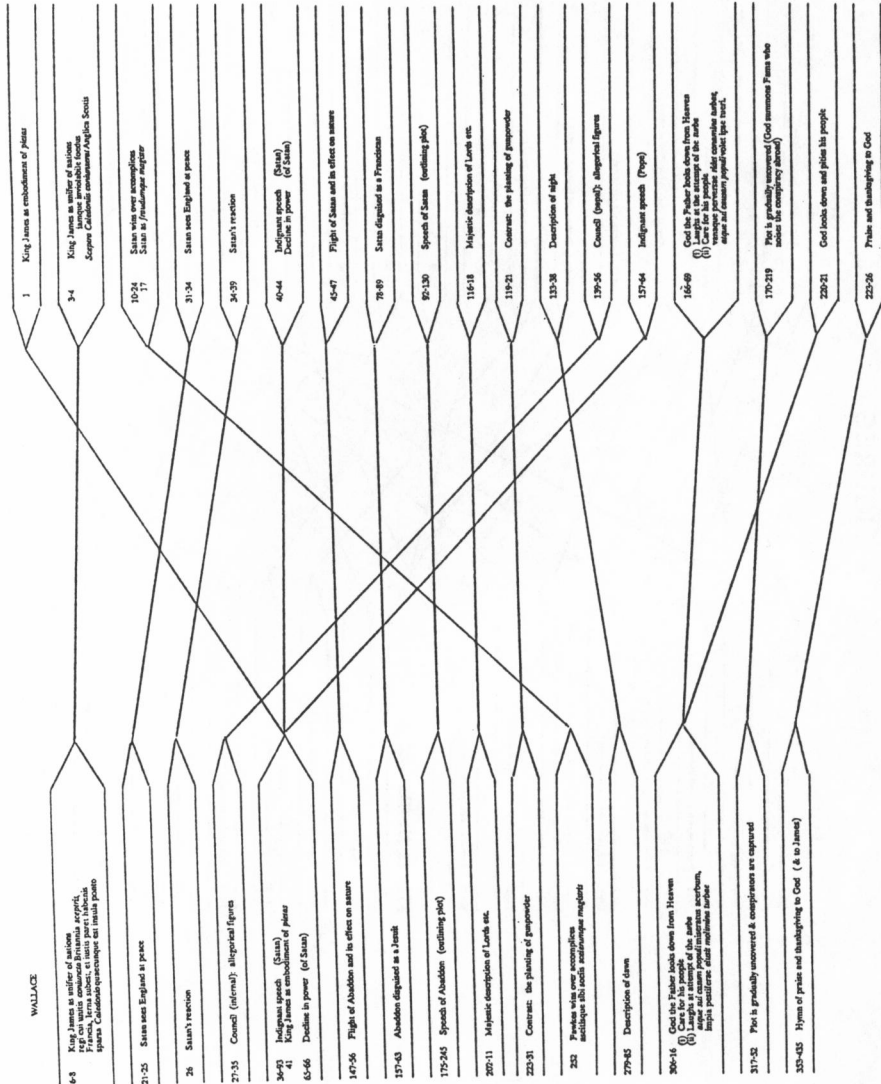
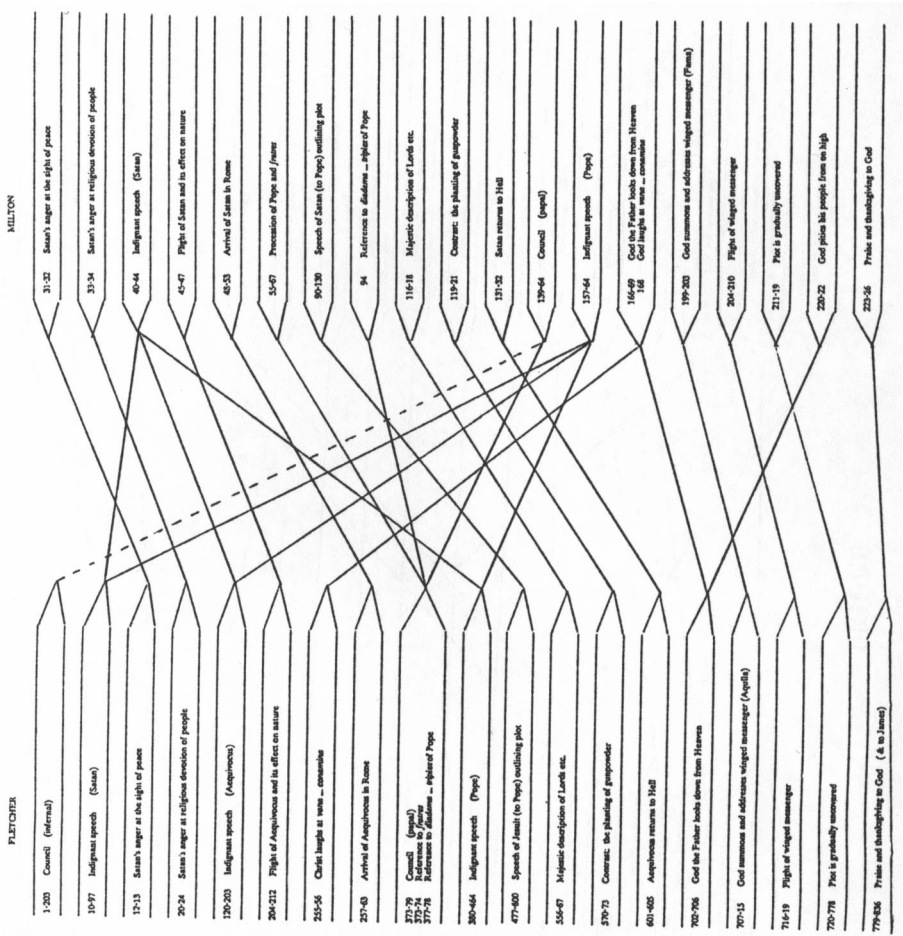


FIGURE 3



TWO NEO-LATIN EPICS ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT:

Francis Herring, *Pietas Pontificia*
 Michael Wallace, *In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi*
... Liberationem

Edited with an English translation and notes

by

Estelle Haan

A Note on the Texts

This is the first modern edition of the gunpowder epics of Herring and Wallace. The text of Herring's poem is based on the first edition (London 1606); that of Wallace's (which will be published in *Hum. Lov.* 42, 1993) is based on a London 1606 edition, a rare volume of which is held by the British Library. In my aim to produce a readable and comprehensible edition, I have modernised Renaissance spelling and punctuation throughout.

Abbreviations used in the Notes

Barclay, <i>Sylv.</i>	John Barclay, <i>Sylvae</i> (London 1606)
Caesar, <i>BC.</i>	<i>Bellum Civile</i>
Caesar, <i>BG.</i>	<i>Bellum Gallicum</i>
Cic., <i>Brut.</i>	Cicero, <i>Brutus sive de Claris Oratoribus</i>
Cic., <i>Pis.</i>	Cicero, <i>Oratio in Pisonem</i>
Cic., <i>Tusc.</i>	Cicero, <i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i>
Cooper, <i>Non. Nov.</i>	Thomas Cooper, <i>Nonae Novembris Aeternitati Consecrati</i> (Oxford 1607)

Fletcher, <i>Loc.</i>	Phineas Fletcher, <i>Locustae vel Pietas Iesuitica</i> in F.S. Boas, ed. <i>Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher</i> (Cambridge 1908) I.
Goodwin, <i>El.</i>	G. Goodwin, <i>Elegiae (Melissa Religionis Pontificiae</i> (London 1620))
Herring, <i>P.P.</i>	Francis Herring, <i>Pietas Pontificia</i> (London 1606)
Hor. <i>C.</i>	Horace, <i>Carmina</i>
Hor. <i>Ep.</i>	Horace, <i>Epistulae</i>
Lucan, <i>BC.</i>	<i>Bellum Civile</i>
Lucretius, <i>RN</i>	<i>De Rerum Natura</i>
Milton, <i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epigrams</i> (on the Gunpowder Plot)
Milton, <i>Q. Nov.</i>	<i>In Quintum Novembris</i>
Ovid, <i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
Ovid, <i>E.P.</i>	<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>
Ovid, <i>M.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Ovid, <i>Nux</i>	<i>Nux Elegia</i>
Ovid, <i>Tr.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
Petr. <i>Sat.</i>	Petronius, <i>Satyricon</i>
Pliny, <i>NH</i>	<i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Propertius	<i>Carmina</i>
Quint. <i>Inst.</i>	Quintilian, <i>Institutiones Oratoriae</i>
Rev.	<i>Revelation</i> (Vulgate)
Seneca, <i>Cont.</i>	<i>Controversiae</i>
<i>State Trials</i>	T.B. Howell (compil.), <i>A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783, Vol. II: James I to Charles I 1603-1627</i> (London 1816)
Suetonius, <i>Caes.</i>	<i>Life of Julius Caesar</i>
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i>
Tac. <i>Dial.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Dialogus</i>
Stradling, <i>Ep.</i>	Sir John Stradling, <i>Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor</i> (London 1607)
Val. Flacc. <i>Arg.</i>	Valerius Flaccus, <i>Argonautica</i>
Virg. <i>A.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>
Virg. <i>E.</i>	Virgil, <i>Eclogues</i>
Virg. <i>G.</i>	Virgil, <i>Georgics</i>

- Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* Michael Wallace, *In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi Britanniae Magnae, Franciae, Hiberniae, &c. Monarchae ab immanissima Papanae factionis hominum coniuratione liberationem felicissimam carmen επιχάρτικον* (London 1606)

*

I

Editions/translations of Francis Herring, *Pietas Pontificia*

- 1606 *Pietas Pontificia seu coniurationis illius prodigiosae et post natos homines maxime execrandae etc.* (London)
- 1609 Another edition (London)
- 1610 *Popish Pietie, or the first part of the Historie of ...the Powder-treason... plotted against James, King of Great Britaine ... written first in Latin verse by F.H. ... and translated into English [verse] by A.P.* (London)
- 1617 *Mischeefes Mysterie or Treasons Master-peace, the Powder-plot ... truly related ... And from the Latine of ... Doctour Herring translated, and very much dilated. By J. Vicars* (London)
- 1641 Another edition (Amsterdam). For a facsimile made from the Bodleian Library copy, see *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (New York 1971: *The English Experience* no. 317)
- 1641 *November the 5, 1605. The Quintessence of Cruelty or master-peace of treachery, the Popish Pouder-Plot [in verse] Truly related ... And from the Latine of ... Doctour Herring translated, and very much dilated by J. Vicars.* (London)

(All of these are held by the British Library, London)

FRANCIS HERRING
PIETAS PONTIFICIA

Pietas Pontificia
seu

coniurationis illius prodigiosae et post natos homines maxime execrandae in Iacobum primum, Magnae Britanniae Regem, Augustam, Principem Henricum totamque Familiam Regiam nec non ordines omnes regni ad summum parlamenti concilium convocatos Novembris quinto An. Dom. 1605, inaudito et diabolico stratagemate designandae et sola virgula divina non multis ante praestitutum facinoris tempus horis patefactae brevis adumbratio poetica:

Ad illustriss. et potentiss. principem Iacobum primum, magnae
Britanniae, Galliae et Hiberniae Regem

Auctore Fr. Heringio, D. Med. Coll. Med. Lond. Socio

Excus. Typis F. Roberts, Typographi Lond. pro Ric. Boyle

A. Dom. 1606

Prov. 21. v. 35

Nulla est Sapientia nullaque Intelligentia et nullum Consilium
ex adverso Iehovae

Psal. 121. v. 4

Ecce neque dormit neque dormitat Custos Israelis

Ps. 9. v. 17

Notum se fecit Iehova iudicio quod exercuit cum suo ipsius facto
illaqueatus est improbus

FRANCIS HERRING

POPISH PIETY

Popish Piety
or

a brief poetical outline of that conspiracy, astonishing and greatly to be denounced afterwards among mankind, against James I, King of Great Britain, Her Majesty, Prince Henry and the whole Royal Family and also all the ranks of the kingdom assembled for the supreme meeting of parliament on the fifth of November 1605 A.D., to be perpetrated by an unheard of and diabolical trick, and disclosed only by the rod of God not many hours before the preordained time for the crime.

To the most distinguished and most powerful leader, James I,
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland

Author: Fr. Herring MD, Associate of the London College of
Medicine

Printed by Fa. Roberts, London for Ric. Boyle

1606 AD

Prov. 21. v. 35

There is no Wisdom, no Intelligence and no plan contrary to God

Psal. 121. v. 4

Behold the guardian of Israel neither sleeps nor is drowsy

Ps. 9. v. 17

God made himself renowned by the judgment which he exercised when
the evil one was ensnared by his own deed

PIETAS PONTIFICIA

- Surgens, Musa, redi studia ad contempta diuque
intermissa nimis, suspensaque postibus arma
arripe. Ni facias, postes et saxa sonabunt
barbaricum facinus quo Phoebus atrocius unquam
5 nil vidit, Pario describi marmore dignum.
Tu, Pater omnipotens, cuius nos gratia vivos
immensa immeritos servat, da vivere laudes
concelebrare tuas, et iustis adnue coeptis.
Monstrum horrendum, infame cano, crudele, superbum.
- 10 Lucifer ex magna nuper meretrice nefando
concubitu densis tenebris Erebiq̃ue cavernis
extremis genuit, soli coeloque tremendum.
Purpureum statim scortum ad Lernaem remisit
stagna ubi clam peperit, Romano et lacte cibavit.
- 15 Anguis hic antiqua longe damnosior Hydra,
prodigium humani generis, crescebat in horas.
Mortifero postquam mater turgere veneno,
serpentino astu praecellere, et artibus Orci
instructum omnimodis agnovit, talibus ipsum
20 compellat verbis, monitisque salubribus ornat:
“Gens inimica mihi magnoque invisā parenti
(si qua alia) est Britonum, Petri quae plurima regno
damna tulit, maiora etiam molitur et optat.
O quantos olim reditus et opima quotannis
25 munera Apostolicae sedis solvebat in arcas!
Quam laute nostras fecit fumare culinas,
quarum (quippe licet tibi verum, nate, fateri)
semper erat primus, quicquid praeteximus, ardor!
Quanta aluit fratrum sanctorum examina! Quantas,
30 quam augustas moles coelumque minantia templa
diviparae auspiciis construxit Virginis atque
coelitis reliquis quos nos donavimus astris!
Nullus in urbe locus fuerat modo dives, amoenus
nullus agro, nostri quem non tenuere coloni.
35 Natio tota meos passim resonabat honores.
Anglia Romanum fiscum provincia dives

POPISH PIETY

As you arise, Muse, return to studies disdained and neglected for too long, and seize arms which have been hung up upon the door-posts. If you do not, the door-posts and rocks will sound a barbarous deed worthy of being inscribed in Parian marble — Phoebus has never seen anything more dreadful than this. You, omnipotent Father, whose immeasurable grace protects us, undeserving, as we live, grant me to live to celebrate your praises, and nod with approval upon my just undertaking.

I sing of a monster — terrible, infamous, cruel, arrogant. Lucifer begot him, formidable to sun and sky, of a great whore through heinous intercourse recently in the dense darkness and remotest caves of Erebus. Instantly he sent the purple harlot back to the swamp of Lerna where she secretly gave birth and fed him on the milk of Rome. This serpent, more pernicious by far than the Hydra of antiquity, ill-omen of the human race, grew hour by hour. As soon as his mother realised that he was swelling with deadly poison, excelling in the cunning of a serpent and versed in all sorts of infernal stratagems, she incites him with these words, adorning them with wholesome advice:

“There is a people of Britain, hostile to me (if elsewhere there is another) and detested by your great father, which has inflicted very many losses upon the kingdom of Peter, and is devising and desiring even more. O what great revenue and abundant gifts did it once use to pay every year to the treasury of the Apostolic see! How splendidly did it cause our kitchens to smoke, wherein (since I may confess the truth to you, my son) always lay our chief desire, no matter what we pretended! What great multitudes of holy friars did it nourish! How great, how majestic were the massive structures and churches projecting upwards to the sky, which it built for the guidance of the Virgin mother of God and for the other saints whom we have bestowed upon the stars! In the city there was now no rich region, in the country no lovely area that our inhabitants did not occupy. The whole nation used to re-echo my honours everywhere. Through its constant lawsuits the wealthy territory of England more than all others by itself increased the

- litibus assiduis auxit magis omnibus una.
 Gallia non illi par aut Germania lata.
 Regia (quid multis?) vicere aeraria grandes
 40 proventus. Forsan mira at verissima narro.
 Et tantam me posse putas de faucibus aequo
 ferre animo ereptam Lutheri ex dogmate praedam?
 Non patiar: certum est ulcisci. Transfuga postquam
 sacrilegus nostras acies et castra reliquit
 45 Catholica, heu quantis turbis subitisque procellis
 concussum est triplici regnum diademate fulgens!
 Germanos secum multos Gallosque, Britannos
 ferme omnes sancto Petri de corpore vulsit.
 ‘Sum regina potens’, dixi, ‘numquamque movebor.’
 50 Tempora me viduam, miseram me nulla videbunt’.
 Sed ne te longo nimium sermone fatigem,
 res nostrae assidue nutantes quaerere cogunt
 consilia atque novas Plutonis tradere technas
 incudi, implicitis stratagemata texere griphis.
 55 In te spes sola est. Patris documenta measque
 tu calles omnes rationes. I pede fausto
 litora ad Albionis pulchrae, regnumque rebelle
 per fas perque nefas ad nostra reducito sceptras’.
 Ille iter aggreditur maternaque iussa facessit
 60 ocus, et toto divisos orbe Britannos
 cautus adit mystam simulans (Cacodaemonis iste
 mos vetus ut lucis fallat vestitus amictu
 tectius), et Fawksi seu Falsi nomine notus
 hic, alibi Ionston, Fosterus, Brunius — alter
 65 Proteus in formas facile versatilis omnes.
 Pro ratione loci regio nova singula nomen
 mutat; mens eadem remanet studiumque nocendi.
 Prensat ubique homines caeco meretricis amore
 flagrantem nimium multos, tacitisque susurris
 70 Aegypti optantes patinas atque aurea magnae
 pocula reginae, veterem quae rexerat orbem.
 Excitat his animos et spes attollit in altas:
 fatalesque dies et ineluctabile tempus
 Calvini asseclis Bezaeque instare ministris;
 75 affore iam tempus memorat quo moenia Romae

treasury of Rome. France or the extent of Germany did not match it. Its great profits exceeded the royal treasury (need I say more?). I tell of things that are perhaps amazing, but very true. And do you think that I can endure with equanimity so great a prey to be snatched from my jaws as a consequence of the doctrines of Luther? I will not suffer it: vengeance is my resolve. Ever since the sacrilegious deserter abandoned our battle-lines and the Catholic camp, by what great turmoil and sudden storms, alas, has our kingdom, resplendent with the threefold diadem, been shaken! From the holy body of Peter he has wrenched with him many Germans, Frenchmen and virtually all the Britons. 'I am a powerful queen', I said, 'and I will never be moved. No circumstances will behold me widowed or wretched'. But in case I am wearing you out by speaking for too long, the constantly tottering state of our affairs compels you to seek a plan, to engage upon the fabrication of new infernal tricks and to conceal stratagems with intricate enigmas. In you lies our only hope. You are skilled in the things your father has taught you and in all my methods. Go with propitious journey to the shores of beautiful Albion and by right or wrong means bring the rebellious kingdom back under my sway".

He undertakes his journey and very swiftly accomplishes his mother's instructions, and carefully approaches the Britons who are divorced from the whole world, assuming the form of a priest (that was the ancient custom of the Evil Demon so that, being clothed in a mantle of light, he might deceive more covertly) and is known here by the name of Fawkes or the False one, elsewhere as Jonston, Foster, Brown — a second Proteus readily turning himself into all shapes. Each new district causes him to alter his name in accordance with the locality; his heart remains the same as does his eagerness do cause harm. Everywhere he lays hold of men who are excessively burning with blind love of the whore, and who with silent whispers long for Egyptian dishes and the golden goblets of the great queen who had ruled over the ancient world. He incites the hearts of some and lifts their hopes on high, saying that the days ordained by fate and the inevitable time are pressing upon Calvinists and the priests of Beza; that the time will now be at hand when they may build the walls of Rome, punish the enemy and restore

- aedificent, hostes plectant priscumque nitorem
Catholicae reddant fidei. Mellita Sinonis
verba avide excipiunt et laetis mentibus abdunt;
seque, suas operas et vota ardentia spondent.
- 80 Ille ergo inflatus rectis successibus aulam
regalem invadit, quam laetus obambulat inter
Anglorum proceres generosorumque catervas,
magnus ubi dextra quatiebat sceptrum potente,
unanimi applausu, solium qui ascendit avitum
- 85 Iacobus, primo cuius clementia regni
introitu cives sese diffudit ad omnes.
Sic ratus egregius princeps se posse rebelles
papicolum mollire animos et flectere duras
cervices. Aliter longe res cessit: abusi
- 90 principis eximii bonitate attollere cristas
coepere, indomito passim turgescere fastu
molirique novas turbas et spargere voces
in vulgum invisas et quaerere apertius arma.
Watsonius primum, veterator callidus, ausus
- 95 tranquillos rerum status turbare; secuta est
nescio quo demens Lancastria caeca furore;
Wallia postremo. Vafrum sed adire Sinonem
(quem modo magnifica spatiantem liquimus aula)
praestat. Hic astuta ut versat molimina mente,
- 100 Perceo occurrit (regis fuit iste satelles,
mancipium papae); commissa negotia pandit.
Remque virumque avide complectitur ille, fidemque
ambo promittunt firmam (quam neuter habebat),
et iunctis iurant scelerata in foedera dextris.
- 105 Vos, rerum domini, diras nutritis Echidnas
in gremiis vestris, aulae qui admittitis intra
limina papicolas. Latet abditus anguis in herba.
Proditio infamis, damnosa rebellio, caedes
horrendae et Stygiam redolentia pharmaca fraudem
- 110 sunt studia istorum iam vulgatissima mundo
toti, et Catholicae monumenta perennia sectae.
His scandunt coelum meritis; sic itur ad astra.
Versutus statim mutato nomine Falsus
Percei famulus vulgo perhibetur, et illa

to the Catholic faith its former splendour. Greedily they listen to the honied words of Sinon and conceal them within their joyful minds; they pledge themselves, their efforts and eager prayers. And so, puffed up with success, he rushes into the royal court, happily walks about there among the Lords of England and throngs of noblemen, where the mighty James was brandishing a sceptre in his powerful right hand and ascended the ancestral throne amidst the applause of all. As soon as he entered, the clemency of his rule spread itself amongst all the citizens. The illustrious leader thought that he could soothe in this way the rebellious minds of the papists and bend their hardened necks. The result was far to the contrary: abusing the goodness of the distinguished leader, they began to rear their crests and be puffed up all about with ungovernable pride, to devise new turmoil and noise their loathsome voices abroad among the populace, and seek war with much less reserve. Watson, a crafty rogue, was the first who dared to upset the tranquil state of affairs; next there followed the blind Lancaster maddened by some pretext for rage; finally Wales. But it is better to go to the sly Sinon (whom we have recently left walking about in the splendid court). When he turns over the undertaking in his cunning mind, he goes to meet Percy (he was the king's attendant and vassall to the pope), and discloses the business entrusted to him. He eagerly embraces both the message and the man, they both promise steadfast loyalty (which neither of them possessed), and joining hands they swear a wicked pact. Lords of the world, you are fostering dreaded Vipers in your bosoms, you who admit papists inside your dwelling. A serpent lies hidden, concealed in the grass. Infamous betrayal, pernicious rebellion, dreadful slaughter and poisons reeking of Stygian fraud constitute their pursuits, already notorious to the whole world, and are the eternal monuments of the Catholic sect. By these services they ascend to the heavens; in this way they proceed to the stars.

By instantly changing his name the crafty False one is universally called the attendant of Percy, and unrecognised in that guise, he

- 115 ignotus specie eructat letale venenum
 secure, et sceleris trahit ad consortia multos.
 His ita transactis clam rursus trans mare currit
 et matrem reddit certam, gesta ordine pandens.
 Collaudat suadetque bonis successibus; instat
 120 naviter atque amplo dimittit munere laetum,
 instructumque novis mandatis. Impiger ille
 accelerat reditum, veteres nec transit amicos
 Austriaci invisens aulam, qui sitne sacerdos
 an bellator atrox exorta est quaestio nuper.
 125 Convenit hic profugos Angla de gente novarum
 percipidos rerum, patriae mala damna precantes:
 monstra hominum, pelago rapido qui turbine moto
 piscari gaudent, currenti calcar acutum
 et stimulos addunt. Sua quisquis symbola confert,
 130 inventisque novis cumulant technisque dolisque,
 et scelere occultare docent scelus. Ille reversus
 antiquo famulatur hero cui singula narrat
 et maturandum facinus, se nempe paratum
 omnigenis locupletem armis quae aut Itala tellus
 135 fraudibus infamis vel regna Acherontis haberent.
 Hinc sese accingunt operi sociisque vocatis
 consilium capiunt sensusque ex ordine dicunt.
 Hic vitam regis cultello aut arte Brasuti
 tentandam, ast alius iugulandum censet amici
 140 hospitii specie quando lassata per aestum
 venatu placidus mulceret corpora somnus.
 Horresco referens totus: vox faucibus haeret.
 Et parricidas nullus metus occupat istos
 talia qui faciunt? Divina, humana nefande
 145 miscent, hospitii gentes sacrata per omnes
 barbaricas violant iura intemerata fidemque.
 Talia iactantes audivit Falsus, at ille:
 “Longe”, ait, “a vera erratis (mihi credite) meta;
 parva haec sectari nobis non convenit; uno
 150 radicem et ramos simul ictu excindere praestat.
 Si regem e medio tollamus, nobilis haeres
 Henricus regno potietur, sanguinis acer
 (credere sic par est) ultor vindexque paterni.

fearlessly belches out a deadly poison, and draws many to participate in crime. When these deeds have been performed in this way, he secretly rushes across the sea once more and informs his mother, disclosing his acts in succession. She praises him very much and encourages his good success; eagerly she presses upon him and sends him away happy in a wealth of gifts and equipped with new instructions. He quickly hastens his return and does not pass by his friends of old, visiting the court of the Austrian, concerning whom the question has recently arisen as to whether he is a priest or a fierce warrior. Here he meets exiles from the British race, very partial to novelty, praying for evil losses upon their country: monsters of men, who rejoice in fishing in a sea disturbed by a swift storm, and who apply the sharp spur and goad to the runner. Each gives his own contribution; they pile up new contrivances, tricks and guile, and teach how to conceal crime with crime. On returning, he attends upon the ancestral lord and tells him of events, one by one; and that the deed must be done quickly and indeed that he himself is ready, richly supplied with all sorts of arms which the land of Italy, ill-famed for fraud, or the kingdom of Acheron might possess. Hence they arm themselves for work and, calling together their accomplices, they devise a plan, voicing their feelings in turn. One man thinks that an attempt should be made on the king's life by knife or by the art of Brasutus, but another thinks that his throat should be cut under the pretence of friendly hospitality when gentle sleep soothes his body made weary by hunting in the heat.

I utterly shudder to relate: my voice sticks in my throat. And does no fear seize those parricides who perpetrate such deeds? Wickedly they confound things divine with things human, they violate fidelity and the undefiled code of hospitality regarded as sacred among all barbarian peoples.

The False one heard them discussing these things, but he said: "You are straying (believe me) far from the real point. It is not fitting that we should pursue these trivialities. It would be better to destroy the root and the branches at the same time with one blow. If we remove the king from our midst, his noble heir, Henry, will take possession of the kingdom, a keen avenger (it is fitting to believe this) and vindicator of

- Qui cum sit magnae princeps virtutis et altae
 155 indolis, in nostros haud tutum est crescere luctus.
 Semina sic generosa solent exurgere in orsus
 praegrandes; primo sic cervus parvus, inermis,
 incipit arboreos statim diffundere ramos,
 cornigerasque inter ductor praecedere turmas;
 160 ingentes flammas scintillula parva cievit
 neglecta incaute, vastas et perdidit urbes.
 Parvus hic octavum cogit meminisse potentem
 Henricum, sancto letalia vulnera papae
 qui infixit primus. Funestum nomen et omen
 165 horresco Henrici. Mihi stat sententia firma
 funditus haereticam invisamque evellere stirpem.
 Id qua nunc dextre fiat ratione docebo:
 Est antiqua domus proprio vicina cubili.
 Hac Angli satrapae consultoresque Britanni
 170 concilium summis regni de rebus habendum
 decernunt, primoque die pro more solenne est
 regem, reginam parvo cum principe adesse,
 magna cum pompa stipatorumque caterva.
 Palmatisque togis, gemmis auroque refulgent.
 175 Ingens fit populi concursus compita complens;
 turbis se adglomerant densis spectantque triumphum.
 Aedibus hic facile est furiosas subdere flammas
 atque perorantem regem proceresque silentes
 turbine sulphureo sublimes mittere in auras".
 180 Haec ubi dicta tacet. Magnis applausibus illi
 collaudant facinus. Catsbeius talia fatur:
 "Pulchrum consilium! Sic quae domus intulit altas
 pontifici plagas plaga ferietur atroce.
 Sic nos Catholicae causae memorabimur olim
 185 instauratores, sanctoque ponemur in albo.
 Sic peccata luent qui iniustas condere leges
 et maculare manus sancto assuevere cruore
 mystarum, nostris opibus spoliisque superbi".
 Hinc iuvenes quosdam selectos vertere terram
 190 iuratosque iubent; alii mandata capessant,
 consortes moneant ut tempore designato
 armati accurrant celeres quo funditus hostes

his father's blood. As he is a prince of great manliness and lofty disposition, it would not be safe for him to grow, much to our grief. In this way seeds of a noble species are accustomed to rise up into huge beginnings; in this way the stag at first small and defenceless immediately begins to spread its branching antlers and go in front as leader among antler-bearing herds; a small spark when carelessly neglected has aroused huge flames and destroyed vast cities. This small boy compels us to remember the powerful Henry VIII, who was the first to inflict lethal wounds upon the holy pope. I shudder at the deadly name and omen of Henry. I maintain an unwavering opinion that we should utterly eradicate the heretical and loathsome offspring. Now I will instruct you as to the means by which that may be done skilfully:

There is an ancient House next to our own lair. The Lords of England and counsellors of Britain have decided that a meeting should be held there concerning the principal affairs of the kingdom, and, in accordance with tradition, it is the practice that on the first day the king, queen, together with the little prince are present amid a great procession and closely-packed throng. They are resplendent in embroidered cloaks, jewels and gold. People form a huge congregation, filling the cross-roads; they join themselves to the thickly-packed crowds and watch the procession. It would be easy to place raging flames here beneath the House and send the king as he is speaking and the lords in their silence into the breezes above in a tornado of sulphur".

Having spoken these words, he is silent. They extol the deed with great applause. Catesby speaks as follows: "An excellent plan! In this way the House which inflicted great blows upon the pope will itself be struck by a frightful blow. In this way we will be spoken of one day as having restored the Catholic cause, and will be placed in the register of the Saints. In this way those who were accustomed to found unjust laws and stain their hands with the holy blood of priests, proud in our riches and spoils, will atone for their sins". Then they select certain young men, bind them under oath and order them to dig; others are to undertake the instructions and advise their associates to run up quickly under arms at the appointed time so that suddenly they may be able

- incautos subito male-puros perdere possint
 et genus invisum terris abolere relictum.
- 195 Fossores primo Persi ex conclavibus altas
 educunt fossas, et subterranea longe
 antra cavant nudantque loci fundamina sacri.
 Interea Perseus cellam magis usibus aptam
 (cui suspensa domus) pretio conducit, et illa
- 200 zythum, carbones et ligna recondere fingit.
 Haec ubi pro votis cesserunt, prospera sperant
 omnia, et extremus Falso concreditur actus.
 Daemon hic (haud hominis dignabor nomine posthac)
 ambulo-nocturnus, fraudis scelerisque magister
- 205 horribilis, Pyrii vim magnam pulveris intus
 clam portat plenisque cadis hic collocat illic.
 Dolia bina addit, funestis mercibus implet,
 regis substernit solio segmentaque ferri
 imposuit, lignique strues superaddidit illis.
- 210 Consimili obtexit reliqua omnia furcifer arte.
 His ita dispositis damnosa mente Novembris
 quintum avide exspectat, scelus ad crudele paratus
 quale nec antiquae Catilina nefarius olim
 Romae intentavit, Iudaeis perditus Haman.
- 215 Singula si evolvas veterum monumenta librosque,
 barbariam totam perlustres, non tibi tantum,
 tam horrible occurret facinus crudele, perosum.
 Rex, Augusta, puer princeps, stirps regia tota,
 illustres proceres et germina nobilitatis,
- 220 iustitiae et legum patres, clerus reverendus,
 flos generosorum, summus sanctusque senatus,
 Anglia tota una periisset percita plaga.
 Haud secus ac cum quis leporem, quem viderat antro
 securum dormire suo, cum fuste peremit
- 225 rusticus incautum, gentem nomenque Britannum
 sic Draco terribilis subito oppressisset, et omnes
 Anglo-Christicolas uno absorpsisset hiatu.
 Vasta adeo Latio sunt guttura et horrida monstro.
 Quis cladem illius poterat narrasse diei;
- 230 quisque triumphantes urbis patriaeque ruinas
 inter sicarios graphice depingere? Centum

utterly to destroy the vile enemy caught off guard, and annihilate from the earth the loathsome and abandoned nation. Firstly diggers dig deep mines from the chambers of Percy, hollow out caverns far beneath the ground and lay bare the foundations of the holy place. Meanwhile Percy hires for a sum a cellar more suited to their purposes (the House was built on top of it) and in it he pretends to store beer, coal and wood. When these things have resulted in accordance with their wishes they hope for every success, and the ultimate deed is entrusted to the False one. This demon (henceforth I will not deem him worthy of a human name), a nightwalker, dreadful master of fraud and crime, secretly carries a great supply of gunpowder inside, placing it in full barrels here and there. He adds two vats, fills them with his lethal commodities, lays them beneath the king's throne, placing heaps of iron over them and adding piles of wood on top. The scoundrel with like cunning covered all the others. When these things have been arranged in this way, with pernicious intent he eagerly awaits the fifth of November, prepared for a cruel crime, the like of which the wicked Catiline of old never attempted upon ancient Rome, or the desperate Haman upon the Jews. If you read one by one the records and books of the ancients and survey barbarism in its entirety, a crime so great, so horrific, cruel or loathsome would not present itself to you. The king, her Majesty, the young prince, the whole royal offspring, distinguished Lords and those of noble origin, fathers of justice and of laws, the venerable clergy, the flower of nobility, the supreme and holy parliament and the whole of England would have perished, roused by one blow. Just as when a farmer has killed with a club a hare caught off its guard, which he had seen sleeping carefree in his own cave, so the frightful Serpent would suddenly have overwhelmed the people and name of Britain and with its one gaping mouth would have devoured all the Christians of England. So vast and horrific a throat does the monster of Latium possess. Who would be able to relate the disaster of that day, and who could delineate in picturesque terms men triumphing over the collapse of city and country at the hands of assassins? If I had

- si mihi linguae essent totidemque in pectore mentes,
 non possem tantos fando explicuisse dolores.
 Da mihi Maeoniden et tantos obiice casus:
 235 arduum onus fugeret propriis et viribus impar.
 Namque mihi videor flagrantem cernere Troiam
 rursus et horrisono misceri cuncta tumultu;
 Londinum imperio florens opibusque superbum
 emporium Europae flammis furialibus ardens;
 240 moenia perrumpi, compleri milite vicos
 armato, irato, dispergi corpora passim
 exanima et plenos currentes sanguine rivos;
 per plateas, per templa, domos, crudelia ubique
 lamenta et lacrimas, planctus gemitusque sonantes;
 245 errantes pavidas per tecta insignia matres
 complexas teneros natos atque oscula salsis
 figentes lacrimis commixta, ululatibus aedes
 femineis passim reboantes, omnia saevo
 Vulcano superante: aulam qua iura popello
 250 palmati dictant patres regumque sepulchra
 priscorum et multos monumenta intacta per annos.
 Adde his quod funus patriae celebrisque cadaver
 Londini, regum sedis sceptrique Britanni,
 (pro scelus!) haud quisquam poterat luxisse superstes,
 255 principe sublato, satrapis, summoque senatu,
 quippe animus fuerat crimen divertere in hostes
 et puritanos praecones voce nefanda
 promulgare reos sceleris, proscribere ubique,
 devovere neci flammis ferroque per omnes
 260 circuitus regni. Sunt hae Cacodaemonis artes,
 non hominum indubie: facinus celare stupendo
 exosum scelere, innocuos traducere sontes,
 plectere suppliciis summis, pervertere regna
 integra et insontum sese satiare cruore.
 265 Daemones aut non sunt aut hae sunt daemonis artes
 atque opera humana specie formaque vagantis.
 Sed Pater omnipotens, moderator et arbiter orbis,
 maxima servorum cui semper cura suorum,
 cuius per totum vigilans perreptat ubique
 270 mundum oculus, terras omnes, maria intima lustrans,

a hundred tongues and as many hearts in my breast, I would not be able to describe in speech such grief. Give me Homer, and cast such misfortunes before him: he would shun the arduous task which even his resources could not cope with. For I seem to see Troy blazing once more and everything confounded in a dreadfully sounding uproar; London which flourished in dominion and the market of Europe proud in its wealth burning with raging flames; walls being burst asunder, streets filled with armed and angry soldiers, lifeless bodies scattered all about and rivers full of blood; through streets, churches and houses cruel lamentation and tears everywhere, the sounds of wailing and groaning; mothers wandering panic-stricken through famous buildings, embracing their young sons and planting upon them kisses mixed with salted tears; houses all about re-echoing with the howling of women as cruel Vulcan subdues all things: the hall in which the vested councillors proclaim laws for the people, the tombs of kings of old and monuments untouched for many years. Add to this the fact that no survivor (alas the crime!) would be able to mourn the death of his country and the remains of famous London, seat of kings and of British dominion, since it was his intention, when the prince, Lords and supreme parliament had been removed, to shift the blame for his crime upon his enemies and with wicked voice to pronounce that the puritan bishops were guilty of the crime, and everywhere to proscribe and assign them to death by flame and sword through all the environs of the kingdom. Undoubtedly these are the wiles of the Evil Demon, not of men: to conceal a crime loathsome in its astonishing wickedness, to proclaim the innocent as guilty, punish them with extreme penalties, overthrow entire kingdoms and satiate themselves with the blood of innocents. If these are not demons, these are the wiles and work of a demon wandering in a human form and guise.

But the omnipotent Father, ruler and judge of the world, who has always the greatest care for his own subjects, whose vigilant eye creeps about everywhere throughout the world, surveying all lands, deep seas

- abditā et abstrusis penetralia caeca tenebris,
cui fraus tecta, dolus, scelerata rebellio, caedes
insontum exosae, rectum iustumque probatur,
prospiciens quanto Britonum rex resque periclo
275 versentur, placida depromit talia voce,
aligerum immensa thronum cingente corona:
“Cernitis ut Satanas veterator callidus astu
straverit insidias Stygio, quo funditus Anglos
deleat e terris qui nostrum numen adorant,
280 triticeosque deos et marmora muta reponat.
Haec si succedant, letalia vulnera magna
Bestia curabit, Babylon reparabitur, orbis
illusor, fraudis, caedis scelerumque magistra,
irrita priscorum fiet sententia vatum
285 qui triste exitium Romae certasque ruinas
praedixere olim. Diris obsistere coeptis
certum est et tantas Anglis avertere clades.
Qui quamvis digni sunt qui plectantur abusi
eximiis meritis nostris summoque favore,
290 sicarii tamen indigni qui talia sumant
supplicia. At praestat rapidas exstinguere flammās
iam iamque arsuras”. Ad se vocat ocus unum
aligerum ex turba fratrum, cui talia mandat:
“Protinus Albionem celeri contendito cursu
295 et regem in somnis moneas discrimina quanta
immineant quantosque sinu nutriverit angues,
qui sibi, qui regno insidias struxere cruentas,
utque loco caveat sibi circumspectus ab illo
quo magnus cecidit Romanus Iulius olim.
300 Mox dominum Monteglum adeas, cui cautio missa est
ut se concilio magno subducat amica
quippe hominesque deumque simul sanxisse luendas
ordinibus scelerum poenas subitasque procellas,
se rus proripiat confestim eventaque spectet,
305 combusta nullum charta superesse periculum.
Officii hunc moneas patriae, patriaeque parentis
curam habeat; regem faciat cognoscere scripta
quae sibi clam fuerant sine nomine at omine fausto”.
Impiger alatus iuvenis festinat ad oras

and the invisible, secret places concealed in hidden darkness, judge of concealed fraud, trickery, wicked rebellion, loathsome slaughter of innocents, right and justice, seeing with what danger the king and the affairs of the people of Britain were beset, utters these words with calm voice, a vast host of angels encircling his throne: "You see how Satan, the crafty rogue, has spread out with Stygian cunning a snare in order utterly to wipe off the earth the English who worship my divine power, and reinstate gods of wheat and dumb statues. If this proves successful, the great Beast will perpetrate lethal wounds; Babylon, mocker of the world, mistress of fraud, slaughter and crime will be restored; void will become the opinion of the prophets of old, who once predicted sorrowful destruction and certain ruin for Rome. It is my resolve to withstand the dreaded undertaking and avert this disaster from the English. Although they deserve to be punished in that they have abused my exceptional goodness and supreme favour, still they do not deserve to receive such a punishment from an assassin. On the contrary, it is preferable to extinguish the rapid flames which are already on the point of consuming them". Quickly he summons one from the host of winged brethren and instructs him as follows: "Instantly and with swift journey direct your course to Albion and warn the king in his sleep of what dangers are threatening him and what serpents he has nourished in his bosom, who have devised bloody snares for him and for his kingdom; and advise him to be cautious on his own account and aware of the place in which Julius, the mighty Roman, once died. Next approach Lord Monteagle, to whom there has been sent a friendly caution that he should withdraw from the great assembly; since men and a god at the same time have ordained for the Lords the atonement for their crimes, and sudden storms, he should immediately take refuge in the country and wait for the result, and that if he burns the letter, no danger will remain. Warn him to have concern for his duty, his country and the father of his country and let the king know what had been written to him secretly, anonymously but with auspicious omen". The winged youth quickly hastens to the famous shores of Britain and

- 310 Brutigenum celebres, et iussa fideliter implet.
 Heroi statim Morleo inspirat honestas
 de patria curas cara regisque salute,
 principis et miro collustrat acumine mentem,
 solvere quo obscuris perplexa aenigmata nodis
 315 extemplo et facile possit velut Oedipus alter.
 Morleus regis de consultoribus unum
 (quem norat veteri nil quicquam cedere Ulyssi
 iudicio pollentem acri ingenioque sagaci)
 selegit atque illi rem totam ex ordine pandit.
- 320 Hic sociis narrat reliquis; hi denique regi
 solliciti ostendunt. Profertur epistola. Cuique,
 ut solet in dubiis, variat sententia, rebus.
 Rex prudens tacita pervolvens singula mente
 sic tandem: "Indicia haec non sunt temnenda. Latentes
 325 exiguum primo fumum monstrasse caminos
 commemini ingentes. Latet abdita stramine bufo
 aut ego fallor", ait, "rumores quippe recorder
 de Romanistis sparsos, quos irrequietis
 spiritus exagitat furiis malus, atra minantes
 330 nescio quae. Nunquam nocuit cautela monarchis
 magna licet, quorum vitae insidiantur acerbi
 compluresque hostes. Surgit nova machina forsan.
 Vel Troianus equus vel seditiosa caterva
 vel Iacobita alter nostros armatur in artus.
- 335 Monstri aliquid (mihi credite) alunt. Errata cerebri
 non sunt haec laesi, sapiunt sed scripta nefandum
 flagitium. Absentem studiose suadet amicum
 se velit et magnam plagam subitamque minatur.
 Occultum rapidumque malum signare videtur
 340 quod subito incautos volitet, ceu fulmen, in hostes.
 Pulvere nil Pyrio rapidum magis aut furiosum.
 Daemonis invento forsan meditantur abuti
 perniciem in nostrani. Cupio cognoscere quinam
 vicinas habitent aedes, num cellula quaevis
 345 aulae subiaceat. Primo me tempore certum
 rebus de his facite, accurata indagine facta".
 Regalis custos camerae mox singula lustrat
 sedulus et regi quae viderat ilico narrat:

faithfully fulfils the instructions. Immediately he inspires Lord Morley with honourable regard for his dear country and the king's safety, and illuminates the king's mind with amazing shrewdness whereby he can instantly and easily, like a second Oedipus, solve the riddle, ambiguous in its obscure points of difficulty.

Morley chose one of the king's councillors (whom he knew as not conceding anything to Ulysses of ancient times in terms of the power of his judgment and keen and active intellect), and unfolds to him the whole matter in succession. He tells it to the rest of his associates; these in turn anxiously disclose it to the king. The letter is produced. As is usual in matters of doubt, each man has a different interpretation.

The prudent king, turning over each detail in the silence of his mind, speaks at last: "These signs are not to be despised. I remember that smoke, though little at first, has indicated huge and concealed furnaces. If I am not mistaken, a toad lies hidden, concealed in straw", he said, "since I recall scattered rumours concerning the followers of Rome, whom a malicious spirit is stirring up with restless madness as they threaten some black deed. Caution, though great, has never harmed monarchs, upon whose lives bitter and numerous foes lay ambushes. Perhaps a new contrivance is being built. Either a Trojan horse or a mutinous throng or another Jacobite is being armed against our strength. They are fostering something monstrous (believe me). These are not the ravings of an afflicted brain; on the contrary the letter suggests an abominable outrage. It eagerly gives friendly advice that he should wish to absent himself, and threatens a mighty and sudden blow. It seems to indicate a hidden and swift evil, which will suddenly hasten, like a thunderbolt, against its enemy unawares. There is nothing more swift or raging than gunpowder. Perhaps they are contemplating abusing the invention of the devil to bring about our destruction. I want to find out who live in the building nearby, if there is any cellar lying beneath the hall. Inform me in the first instance of these facts, having made a careful investigation". Next a guard of the Lord Chamberlain diligently surveys everything and immediately tells the

- Perseum contiguas aedes habitare, cavernas
 350 subiectas multo ligno et carbone refertas.
 Orta hinc suspicio maior, quartoque Novembris
 aulicus antiquus fidusque remittitur ipso
 noctis in obscurae medio Knevettus, ut acri
 scrutetur studio quaevis penetralia et omnes
 355 excutiat latebras, vestes se quaerere raptas
 regineas simulans pauca stipante caterva.
 Primus hic offendit Falsum Cacodaemona cellae
 solum, vestitum atque ocreatum ad limina stantem
 quippe penu omnigeno nuper cumulaverat Aetnam
 360 ignivomam, flammis patriam quae absumeret omnem
 sulphureis Stygia velut eructante palude.
 Anglia iam bis sex tantum non amplius horas
 vulnere distabat letali et funere acerbo.
 Hunc iubet actutum comprehendere moxque subintrans
 365 cellam lignorum magnos subvertit acervos,
 cum subito attonito facinus sonat ore minister
 horrendum: "Pyrius (pro!) hic pulvis conditur. Unum
 ipse cadum inveni; plures dubio procul omni
 contacti his latitant lignis, scelus heu scelus ingens!"
 370 Mox alios aliosque trahunt, numeroque triginta
 quattuor atque cados et dolia bina recludunt
 exitiali, atro, infernali pulvere plena.
 Qui Falsum penitus perlustrant, pensile collo
 idolum abripiunt et sacco corpus amictum
 375 interius cernunt, dein vestibus abdita promunt
 instrumenta quibus Vulcanum immitteret Aetnae,
 iam iamque arsurae flammis submitteret Aetnae,
 queis Britonum imperium florens per saecula multa
 et gentem Anglorum claram delessent in uno
 380 temporis articulo et nictu pernicis ocelli.
 Hic crimen per se clarum confessus et illud
 angere se solum quod res infecta fuisset.
 Exclamant omnes coelum terramque nefandum
 prodigium facinusque novum, cui tale nec unquam
 385 intima barbaries vidit nec Turcica tellus;
 Gallica cui infamis cedit laniena piorum
 cladibus insignis, praesentis dedecus aevi.

king what he has seen: Percy lives in an adjoining building and there are underground cellars crammed with much wood and coal. Greater suspicion arises on this account, and on the fourth of November Knyvet, an honest and faithful gentleman of the court, is sent back in the very middle of the dark night to examine and scrupulously investigate any secret places, and inspect all hiding places, pretending, surrounded by a small band, that he is looking for garments of the queen that have been stolen. First he finds the False one, the Evil Demon, alone, dressed and wearing boots as he stands at the entrance to the cellar, since with all sorts of provisions he had already piled up a fire-breathing Etna which would consume the whole country with flames of sulphur in, as it were, the belching marsh of Styx. England was now no more than a mere twelve hours away from its lethal wound and bitter death. He orders him to be arrested immediately and next, entering the cellar, he overturns great piles of wood, when suddenly a servant proclaims the horrific deed upon his astonished lips: "Oh! Gunpowder is stored here. I myself have found one barrel; beyond all doubt more lie hidden, concealed by this wood — alas, the crime, the enormous crime!". Soon they drag out others and still others, uncovering barrels numbering thirty-four and two vats full of the fatal, black, infernal powder. The men who utterly scrutinise the False one rip off the idol hanging round his neck and see, underneath, his body covered with sack-cloth; then they extract concealed within his garments the implements by which he would set fire to Etna and apply flames to it, already on the point of burning, whereby he would have destroyed the British empire which had flourished for many ages and the famous nation of Britons in a single instant and quick blinking of an eye. He himself confessed the brilliant crime and is only vexed at the fact that his purpose had not been achieved. Everyone proclaim by heaven and earth the abominable portent and extraordinary deed, the like of which the rudest barbarians or the land of Turkey have never seen; to which yields the infamous French butchery, renowned for its slaughter of holy

- Extemplo magnam volitavit Fama per urbem
 perque aulam, longe et late velociter omnes
 390 amplae pervadit vicos regionis. Ubique
 ingens laetitia et sublatae ad sidera palmae.
 O quam te memorem, celsi moderator Olympi,
 qui premis imperio terras, qui fulmina torques,
 foederis usque memor, iustas et tardus ad iras?
 395 Quas tibi depromam laudes? Quae vota rependam?
 Tu nos servasti ferro flammisque dicatos
 devotosque neci et miserandis cladibus. Unus
 invigilas custos sanctus fidusque Sionis,
 ut velut e saevi raperes nos dentibus ursi,
 400 ipsis tu revocas redivivos faucibus Orci.
 Tu nos servasti solus; tua dextera texit
 immeritos; summo tu nos sectaris amore
 obdura cum nos in te cervice rebelles
 quotidie innumeris vitiis laxamus habenas,
 405 cum cultum nomenque tuum contemnimus; ipsos
 excipimus sannis vates et vivere recte
 ducimus in probris; peccator dicitur ille
 qui nihil offendit, velut is male sanus habetur
 insanos inter, qui non insanit, ut illi.
 410 Infinita tua est bonitas, clementia, tales
 tempore qui tali, Pater optime maxime, curas
 qui te quique tuos nil curant, qui sua tantum
 commoda et instabiles cupide insectantur honores.
 Molliat haec tandem bonitas adamantina corda
 415 et nos in lacrimas totos dissolvat; inertes
 excitet, antiquum excutiat validumque veternum.
 Illustres oculos caecos; commissa videre
 crimina concedas, Pater optime, visa dolere
 assiduis lacrimis et acerbo plangere fletu,
 420 ut sacrosancti verbi (quo nil habet orbis
 thesauro maius) vivamus luce corusca
 digni, nec gentes sub Christi nomine agamus.
 Millia nostrorum fratrum modo letifer annus
 absumpsit, cum dira lues saeviret ubique.
 425 Insidias Stygias nunc aegre evasimus. Ensem
 iam iamque haerentem iugulo tua dextera retorsit.

men — a disgrace of the present age. Immediately Rumour flew through the great city and the court, and far and wide she swiftly spreads through all the streets of the spacious area. Everywhere there is immense joy and hands are uplifted to the stars.

O how am I to mention you, ruler of lofty Heaven, who overcome the earth with your dominion, who hurl thunderbolts, constantly mindful of your covenant, and slow to just anger? What praises may I utter to you? What vows may I repay? You saved us when we were given over to sword and flames, destined for destruction and wretched disaster. You alone watch over us as a holy and loyal guardian of Sion with the result that you give us life again, calling us back from the very jaws of Hell as if you were snatching us from the teeth of the cruel bear. You alone have saved us; your right hand has protected us undeserving; you attend upon us with supreme love when, rebelling against you with obdurate neck, daily we give rein to countless vices, when we spurn your worship and your name, we receive the prophets themselves with mockery and amid our disgraces we consider that we are living a proper life; the man who causes no offence is called a sinner just as he who is not insane is regarded as mad among those who are insane. Your goodness and clemency are infinite, excellent and mighty Father, who have concern at this time for those people who have no concern for you and your followers; who greedily pursue only their own interests and fickle glories. May this goodness soften at last our hearts of adamant, and cause us utterly to melt into tears; may it stir us up from our sluggishness and shake off long-term and powerful lethargy. May you illuminate our eyes that are blind, granting, excellent Father, that we may see the sins we have committed, and that having seen them, we may weep over them with incessant tears and mourn with bitter lamentation, with the result that we may live worthy of the gleaming light of the sacrosanct Word (the world possesses nothing greater than this treasure), and refrain from living as pagans in the name of Christ. A death-dealing year has recently killed thousands of our brethren when a dreadful plague raged everywhere. Now with difficulty have we escaped Stygian snares. Your right hand has repulsed the sword which at this very moment remained close to our throat.

- Haec te peccatis alte clareque loquuntur
iratum nostris minitari, ostendere virgam
et quassare, manu miti deponere rursus,
430 ut mater natum castigatura tenellum
saepe levat tremulas palmas revocatque vicissim.
Quod si nec verbis monitisque minisque paternis
proficimus (quid enim nisi verbera saeva supersunt?)
forsan in ardentem patientia laesa furorem
435 erumpet stipulaeque instar consumet iniquos.
Quin moniti toties discamus sancta vereri
numina, Evangelii meliores reddere fructus;
nec Babylona piis hostem, sedem Antichristi,
sentinam scelerum, insano insectemur amore,
440 sed potius veterum per nos oracula vatum
complementa habeant. Da magnum exurere scortum
caedeque Romuleas fundatas vertere turres
sanctorum. Palmam hanc nostro concedito regi.
Cuius vita tibi cum sit pretiosa, vicissim
445 cara illi tua sit pretiosaque gloria semper.
Lampada Evangelii magis et magis excitet, hostes
cognoscat caveatque suos plectatque nocentes;
subiectis parcat fidis subigatque superbos.
Iustitiam ut rivos faciat decurrere aquarum
450 per tractus omnes regni, per compita et urbes.
Sic regat ingentes populos ut vivus ametur,
fragrantem et post se famam nomenque relinquat.
Insignes regni proceres summusque senatus
perpetuo nomen sanctum amplexentur honore
455 tantis pro meritis parta patriaeque salute;
egregias leges promulgent aedibus illis
servatis pro aris et regni prosperitate,
queis, ut oves, fuerant caedi flammisque notati,
atque Cananitas istos, meretricis alumnos
460 purpureae, e medio tollant, qui sentibus ipsos
acribus et multis stimulis pupugere per annos,
qui patriae iugulum plagam secuisse per unam
infandum aggressi facinus (sic vota Neronis
aequassent facto), qui spirant nil nisi caedes
465 insontum regumque necesse, qui furta, rapinas,

These disasters loudly and clearly say that in anger at our sins, you threaten, reveal and brandish your rod, and then with gentle hand you put it down again, just as when a mother, intending to scold her little son, often raises her quivering hands and withdraws them in turn. Because if we do not improve as a result of the words, advice and threats of the Father (for what else remains if not cruel lashes?), perhaps his forbearance will be injured and burst out into a blazing rage, consuming us in our iniquity, like straw. On the contrary, being warned so many times, let us learn to revere his holy godhead, and render the fruits of the Gospel better; and do not let us with mad passion pursue Babylon, enemy of the pious, seat of the Antichrist, refuse of crimes, but rather let the predictions of the ancient prophets be fulfilled on our part. Grant us to burn the great harlot and overthrow the towers of Romulus founded by the slaughter of holy men. Yield this palm of victory to our king. Since his life is precious to you, may your glory in turn be forever dear and precious to him. May he kindle more and more the lamp of the Gospel, may he recognise his enemies, guard against his own men and punish the guilty; may he spare his faithful subjects and subdue the arrogant. May he cause justice to flow like streams of water through all the districts of the kingdom, through cross-roads and cities. May he rule his vast peoples in such a way that he is loved during his life-time, and may he leave behind him the scent of fame and glory. In return for these good deeds and for procuring the safety of the country may the distinguished Lords of the kingdom and its supreme council embrace his holy name with eternal glory; in return for the preservation of their altars and the good fortune that has befallen the kingdom may they pronounce excellent laws in the very building in which they had been marked out, like sheep, for slaughter and flames, and may they remove from their midst those Cananites, nurslings of the purple whore, who pricked them for many years with sharp thorns and goads, who attempted an unspeakable deed — to cut the throat of their country in a single blow — (thus they would have matched in deed the wishes of Nero), who breathe nothing but the slaughter of innocents and murder of kings, who regard

- turpia adulteria, incestus et crimina quaevis
 pro nihilo reputant, quorum nec mentio debet
 Christicolae inter fieri nec nomina nosci,
 quique stipem e scortis foedam reditusque quotannis
 470 (nec pudet) accipiunt; coelos terrasque remisent.
 Has diras viperas nostris latitare medullis,
 quae patriae erodunt ventrem nos monstra sinemus
 talia, naturae leges qui cordibus ipsis
 coelitus insculptas maculant nervosque refringunt
 475 humanae vitae, faciunt quae Turca profanus,
 barbarus aut Indus nollet vel perfidus Afer?
 Si facimus, digni in foveam cassesque ruemus
 edocti toties frustra vel testibus ipsis.
 Tu iustus merito iudex perhibeberis olim.
 480 Praestigias potius magnae meretricis et ipsam
 intento (ut par est) studio vitemus in aevum,
 cumque illa posthac commercia nulla habeamus.
 Tu, Pater omnipotens, qui nostra es portio, noster
 es clypeus, prius ut, sartos tectosque sub alis,
 485 protege nos semper, Babylonis et irrita spargas
 consilia ut coelos contra pugnare nefando
 desistat scelere et sanctorum sanguine vesci.
 Nosque tuum numen, tua facta ingentia festis
 carminibus gratisque animis celebrabimus usque.
 490 Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque sonabunt
 omnibus in templis, domibus vicisque pagisque
 Albionis, cultusque tuus florebit in illa,
 igniferos Phoebus dum coeli circulat orbes.

FINIS

Soli Deo laus et gloria in saecula.

as nothing theft, rape, shamerful adultery, incest and all sorts of crimes, who should not be mentioned and whose names should not be known among Christians, and who receive every year (without shame) filthy money and revenue from whores, confounding heaven and earth. Shall we allow these dreadful serpents, these monsters, which eat away the belly of our country, to hide in the marrow of our bones — these people who defile the laws of nature heavenly inscribed in our very hearts and break the sinews of human life, committing deeds which the profane Turk or barbarous Indian or treacherous African would not desire? If we do, we will rush into a pit and nets, and deservedly, in that we have been instructed so many times in vain even when we ourselves were witnesses. Rightly will you be called hereafter a just judge. Rather let us shun for ever with eager intent (as is fitting) the deceptions of the great whore and the whore herself and let us have no dealings with her after this. You, omnipotent Father, who are our portion, our shield, always protect us as before, restored and covered beneath your wings, and scatter the worthless stratagems of Babylon so that she may cease to fight against heaven with evil wickedness, feeding on the blood of holy men. We will celebrate for ever your godhead, your immense deeds, in festive song and with grateful hearts. Your glory, fame and praises will resound forever in all churches, houses, streets and regions of Albion, and your worship flourish there for as long as Phoebus encircles the light-bearing orbs of the sky.

THE END

Praise and glory in eternity to God alone

NOTES

1-8 *Invocation: the speaker addresses the Muse, asking her to return to his interrupted studies, and prays to the Father for his approval upon his poem.*

1 studia ... contempta] cf. Tac., *Dial.* 15.1: *studia inridere atque contemnere*; Quint., *Inst.* 1.4. (*Proem.*): *sive contemnentes tamquam parva quae prius discimus studia.*

2 intermissa] cf. Cic., *Brut.* 315.3-4: *studium philosophiae numquam intermissum*; Seneca, *Cont.* 1.13 (*Pref.*): *nec intermittere studium sciebat nec repetere.*

5 Pario describi marmore dignum] cf. Hor., *C.* 1.19.5-6: *urit me Glyceræ nitor/splendentis Pario marmore purius*; Ovid, *M.* 3.419: *e Pario formatum marmore signum*; *Id.*, *E.P.* 4.8.31-32: *nec tibi de Pario statuam, Germanice, templum/marmore*; Petr., *Sat.* 126.18: *Parium marmor extinxerat*; Quint., *Inst.* 2.19.3: *si Praxiteles signum aliquod ex molari lapide conatus esset exculpere, Parium marmor malletm rude*; Val. Flacc., *Arg.* 5.187-8: *infelix Pario de marmore iuxta/stat soror.*

6-7 gratia .../immensa] cf. Tac., *Ann.* 14.53.15-16: *at tu gratiam immensam, innumeram pecuniam circumdedisti.*

8 iustus adnue coeptis] cf. Virgil, *G.* 1.40; *A.* 9.625: *audacibus adnue coeptis.*

9-20 *The speaker announces his subject: a dreadful monster, Lucifer begot him of the whore of Rome in the darkness of Hell. The whore fed him on the milk of Rome. He grew up to be a monster fully experienced in hellish guile and poison.*

9 monstrum horrendum] cf. Virgil, *A.* 3.658 (of Cyclops): *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens*. For a *monstrum* as the originator of the plot, cf. Milton, *Ep.* 3.3: *frenduit hoc trina monstrum Latiale corona.*

10-11 nefando/concubitu] cf. Ovid, *M.* 6.540-1: *atque utinam fecisses ante nefandos/concubitus: vacuas habuisses criminis umbras.*

15 antiqua ... Hydra] the seven-headed serpent killed by Hercules near the Lernean lake (Ovid, *M.* 9.192, Hor., *C.* 4.4.61).

17 mortifero ... turgere veneno] cf. Ovid, *M.* 3.33: *corpus tumet omne veneno*; *ibid.* 3.49: *adflatu funesta tabe veneni.*

21-58 *The whore's address to her son: she complains that the British nation has inflicted much harm upon Rome, wistfully reflects on the honours it once showed her: its throngs of holy brethren, its towering churches. In its devotion it surpassed France and Germany. She is resolved on vengeance. Her kingdom has been beset by turmoil ever since Luther won over the Germans, French and virtually all the British. The situation calls for a subtle stratagem, which must be accomplished by her son, in whom lies her only hope. She tells him to fly to England and bring its people back under her authority.*

21-23 Cf. Milton, *Q.* Nov. 41-42: *gens haec mihi sola rebellis,/contemtrixque iugi, nos-traque potentior arte.*

21 Gens inimica mihi] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.67 *gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor*; Milton, *Q.* Nov. 158: *gens exosa mihi.*

- 44 sacrilegus] cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 100: *sacrilegique sciant tua quid maledictio possit.*
- 45 subitisque procellis] cf. Ovid, *Nux.* 163: *atque utinam subitae raperent mea poma procellae.*
- 46 triplici regnum diademate fulgens] cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 377-78: *sedet in mediis diademate Paulus/tempora prae fulgens triplici*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 94: *diademaque triplex.*
- 49 sum regina potens] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.46: *ast ego, quae divum incedo regina.*
- 55 in te spes sola est] cf. Virgil, *A.* 12.57: *spes tu nunc una*; *ibid.* 12.59: *in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit.*
- 57 regnumque rebelle] cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 41: *gens haec mihi sola rebellis.*
- 58 per fas perque nefas] cf. Virgil, *G.* 1.505: *quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas.* Fletcher, *Loc.* 541-42: *per fas, Pater optime, nobis/perque nefas tentanda via est.*
- 59-79 *The destructive mission of the monster: the monster travels to Britain and assumes the form of a priest. Adopting the name of Fawkes (or his many other aliases), he incites men, saying that the day of doom is fast approaching Calvinists and priests of Beza, and that soon the Catholic faith will be restored. They are deceived by his words.*
- 59-63 For a demon's disguise as a priest, cf. Abaddon's transformation into a Jesuit, Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 157-63; cf. Satan's disguise as a Franciscan, Milton, *Q. Nov.* 78-89.
- 59 maternaque iussa facessit] cf. Virgil, *G.* 4.548: *continuo matris praecepta facessit*; *ibid.* *A.* 4.295: *iussa facessunt.*
- 60 toto divisos orbe Britannos] cf. Virgil, *E.* 1.66: *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*; *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* (compiled by T.B. Howell (London) Vol. II (1816), 254: "And as that error was the cause of Adam's exile from Paradise which was *hortus conclusus*; so had such another almost divided us and our heirs both from our lives and estates: *Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*".
- 62-63 ut lucis fallat vestitus amictu/tectius] For the use of disguise, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 90: *subdolos at tali Serpens velatus amictu.*
- 63-65] For Fawkes's use of the name Johnson, cf. King James's *History of the Gunpowder Plot* in *State Trials* II.202: "giving himself no other name than John Johnson"; *The Trial of Robert Winter etc. Jan. 1606, ibid.* 159: "Guy Fawkes gent. otherwise called Guy Johnson; *ibid.* 167: "for Guy Fawkes passed for a time under the name of John Johnson". A copy of Fawkes's first examination (5 Nov.) by Chief Justice Popham and Attorney-General Coke has the signature of 'John Johnson'".
- 65 Proteus] a sea-god who readily assumed different forms. For his transformation into a pig, tiger, serpent and lioness, cf. Virgil, *G.* 4.407-8.
- 67 mens eadem remanet] cf. Virgil, *A.* 4.449: *mens immota manet.*
- 71 reginae, veterem quae rexerat orbem] a reference to Cleopatra. Cf. Lucan, *BC* 10.355 ff.; Caesar, *BC* 3.103; 3.107; Suet., *Caes.* 35;
- 73 ineluctabile tempus] cf. Virgil, *A.* 2.324: *venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus.*
- 77] On Sinon, the Greek, whose perfidy caused the Trojans to admit the wooden Horse, cf. Virgil, *A.* 2.79 ff.

80-86 *The monster visits the royal court. Puffed up by success, he walks among the noblemen of the court. James is presented in his regal splendour.*

82 *Anglorum proceres*] cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 209: *imperii proceres omnes*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 117: *patricios vocat et procerum de stirpe creatos*.

87-97 *A digression on those who have abused the king's clemency*

88 *papicolum mollire animos*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.57: *mollitque animos et temperat iras*. For *papicolum*, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 222.

94 *Watsonius*] William Watson. He conspired unsuccessfully to seize the king at Greenwich, 24 June 1603. Cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II.266: "the fiery triplicity of Ballard, Clarke and Watson, of which number, the first practised the slaughter of the queen deceased, the other two of the king our sovereign". He was executed on 29 November, 1603; cf. M. Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester 1991) 129-30.

97 *Wallia*] the disturbances in Wales. Cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II.230: "In May 1605, fell out certain broils in Wales by the Romish Catholicicks." *ibid.* 344: "such another hot alarm as arose in Wales about the giddy mutinies of some light Catholicicks".

97-104 *Fawkes meets Thomas Percy and informs him of his evil intent. Percy concurs and they swear an oath.*

100 *Perceo*] Thomas Percy (1560-1605). In spite of a Protestant upbringing Percy became a Catholic. He was appointed by Henry Percy, his second cousin, constable of Alnwick castle 1594 and was befriended by the Earl of Essex. In 1602 he was charged with embezzlement. In 1604 he obtained a place at court in London. He married a sister of John Wright, a friend of Robert Catesby. As a leading conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot he hired the building adjoining the House of Lords (24 May 1604) and afterwards hired a cellar. On the discovery of the plot a reward of 1,000l was offered for his capture. He was wounded on 8 November whilst resisting government troops who attacked the house in which the conspirators were hiding. He died two days later.

104 *iunctis iurant scelerata in foedera dextris*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 8.169: *iuncta est mihi foedere dextra*.

105-112 *The speaker intervenes: a warning concerning papists and their evil and deceptive methods.*

108 *Proditio infamis*] cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 214: *proditionis opus*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 30: *Saevities, et proditio, fraudesque dolique*; *ibid.* 149: *hunc comites, fraus proditioque sequuntur*.

112 *sic itur ad astra*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 9.641: "*macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra*". For this sentiment that Catholics aim to reach heaven by inflicting destruction, cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II.254: "If then there be no other way to heaven than by the destruction of God's anointed and their heirs, I will conclude with you, Mr. Garnet, as Constantius did with Ascesius, *Erigito tibi scalam, et in coelum solus ascendito*; Set up a ladder for yourself, and climb up to heaven alone".

113-116 *Fawkes changes his name to Johnson, pretending to be Percy's attendant, and wins over more conspirators.*

113] For Fawkes's disguise as Percy's attendant, cf. *Thomas Winter's Confession 23 November 1605, State Trials* II 206: "Mr. Fawkes underwent the name of Mr. Percy's man, calling himself Johnson, because his face was the most unknown, and received the keys of the house".

116 *sceleris trahit ad consortia multos*] cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 252: *ascitisque sibi sociis, scelerumque magistris*; Milton *Q. Nov.* 10: *dinumerans sceleris socios vernasque fideles*.

117-121 *The monster returns to his mother in Rome and on informing her of his success, is praised, rewarded and furnished with further instructions.*

120 *amplo dimittit munere laetum*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 5.531-2: *sed laetum amplexus Acasten/ muneribus cumulat magnis*.

121-141 *The monster meets prospective conspirators. Some wish to assassinate the king by a knife; others wish to murder him while he is sleeping.*

123-24 Possibly an ironic reference to Rudolph II (1576-1612), the Habsburg Emperor at the time of the Gunpowder Plot. Rudolph, a fanatical Roman Catholic, was infamous for his incompetence in government and general apathy, and renowned for his celibacy. He became an object of contemporary derision.

135 *vel regna Acherontis haberent*] cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 7: *ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus*.

138 *arte Brasuti*] I am unable to identify this obscure reference.

142-146 *The speaker intervenes. He shudders to relate such wickedness.*

142 *Horresco referens totus*] cf. Goodwin, *Ep.* 17: *horresco referens, tremulis vox faucibus haeret*; the Indictment by the Attorney General 1606 (Sir Edward Coke) *State Trials* II. 176: "*Horret animus*, I tremble even to think of it: Miserable desolation! no king, no queen, no prince, no issue male, no counsellors of state, no nobility, no bishops, no judges" and statement of Sir John Croke in *The Trial of Henry Garnet*, 28 March 1606, *State Trials* II 218-19: "The manner how to perform these horrible Treasons, the Serjeant said "*Horreo dicere*", his lips did tremble to speak it". Cf. also Virgil, *A.* 2.204: (*horresco referens*)

142 *vox faucibus haeret*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 2.774 *steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit*; *ibid.* *A.* 3.48; *A.* 12.868; *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.177: "... and what horrible effects the blowing up of so much powder and stuff would have wrought, not only amongst men and beasts, but even upon insensible creatures, churches, and houses, and all places near adjoining; you who have been martial men best know! For my self, "*Vox faucibus haeret*".

147-179 *Fawkes's speech:*

147-167 *Fawkes suggests a better way: on hearing the discussion, Fawkes states that they are straying far from their purpose. If they kill the king, prince Henry will succeed to the kingdom and avenge his father's blood. He could grow up to inflict much grief upon them. His very name compels them to remember Henry VIII and the evils which he inflicted upon the pope. There is a better way of ridding themselves of the king and his offspring.*

151-53 Cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 548-49: *certissimus ultor/et sceptris odiisque puer succedet avitis.*

156 *Semina ... generosa*] cf. Ovid, *M.* 9.280: *impleratque uterum generoso semine.*

158-59 Cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.189-90: *ductoresque ipsos primum, capita alta ferentes/cornibus arboreis sternit.*

158 *arboreos ... ramos*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 10.725: *surgentem in cornua cervum.*

159 *cornigeras ... turmas*] cf. Ovid, *M.* 7.701: *cornigeris tendentem retia cervis*; Lucretius, *RN* 3.751: *cornigeri incursum cervi.*

161 *perdidit*] a necessary emendation of the improbable and unmetrical *perelidit* in the London 1606 text.

164 *Funestum nomen et omen*] cf. Cic., *Tusc.* 3.83.5-6: *dum aegritudinis nomen absit grave, taetrum, funestum*; Id., *Pis.* 92.9: *nominis funesta indicia*; Prop., 2.28.38: *nigraque funestum concinit omen avis.*

166 *invisam ... stirpem*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 7.293: *heu stirpem invisam.*

168-179 *The plot: the king, queen and prince are due to attend the opening of parliament in the House of Lords. It would be easy to plant gunpowder beneath them and blow them all up.*

168-79 For the description of the House, Lords etc., cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 202-11; Fletcher, *Loc.* 556-67; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 116-18.

169 *Angli satrapae consultoresque Britannii*] cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 162: *et rex et pariter satrapae*; Id., *Ep.* 1.1: *in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos.*

170 Cf. Ennius *Ann.* 237-38: *de summis rebus agendis/consilio*

179 *turbine sulphureo sublimes mittere in auras*] cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 226: *pulvere sulphureo*; 239: *sulphureis volvens incendia fumis*; 268: *sulphureique cadis sex senis pulveris implent*; 337: *sulphurei per pulveris ictum*; 345: *qua sulphureum succenderet ignem*; Fletcher, *Loc.* 786: *pulvere sulphureo*; Milton, *Ep.* 1.6: *sulphureo curru flammivolisque rotis.*

180-181 *The plot is applauded by all*

180-81 *magnis applausibus illi/collaudant facinus*] cf. the reaction of the audience to the announcement of the plot in Fletcher, *Loc.* 584-86: *Dixerat: applaudunt omnes, magis omnibus ipse/consilium laudat sanctus Pater, ipse labantis/Patronum Romae laeto sic ore salutat.*

181 *Catsbeius*] Robert Catesby (1573-1605), son of William Catesby of Lapworth, Warwickshire. A man of ample means and an ardent Catholic, he was one of the conspirators. He was shot on 8 November resisting government troops who had invaded the house in which the conspirators were hiding.

181-188 *Robert Catesby's speech: Catesby thinks that this is an excellent plan since it will destroy the very House which had offended the Catholics, and will win them renown.*

182-183] For the notion that it is appropriate that the scene of destruction be the very house which had pronounced anti-Catholic laws, cf. *The True Copy of the Deposition of Guido Fawkes, State Trials* II.202: "which place we made choice of, the rather, because, religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there".

189-197 *Men are selected to dig beneath the House. The digging commences.*

190 *mandata capessant*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.77: *mihi iussa capessere fas est*.

194 *genus invisum*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.28: *et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores*; Ovid, *M.* 10.552: *invisumque mihi genus est*.

195] The digging of the mine was commenced on 11 December 1604. Cf. *The True Copy of the Deposition of Guido Fawkes, State Trials* II.202: "Thomas Percy hired an house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining to the parliament-house, and there we began to make our mine, about the 11th of December, 1604".

198-210 *Thomas Percy hires a cellar beneath the House and pretends to store coal and wood in it. Fawkes secretly transports gunpowder here, camouflaging it with wood.*

198] Percy hired the cellar from a Mrs. Bright. She agreed to sell him its lease, which she held from a certain Mr. Whynniard. Cf. Fawkes's confession, *State Trials* II.203 "<Fawkes> finding that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent".

204 *ambulo-nocturnus*] cf. Virgil, *G.* 3.538: *nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat*

204 *fraudis scelerisque magister*] cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.7.27: *caedis scelerumque ministrae*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 252: *ascitisque sibi sociis, scelerumque magistris*; Milton, *Q.* Nov. 17: *fraudumque magister*.

208-9] For the camouflaging of the gunpowder by billets and faggots, cf. *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.163: "and the said several quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, with billets and faggots, lest they should be spied, secretly and traitorously did cover"; the Indictment by the Attorney general, *State Trials* II.179: "having crows of iron, stone and wood laid upon the barrels". Robert Winter's Confession 23 Nov. 1605, *State Trials* II.208: "After this master Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand billets and five hundred faggots, and with that covered the powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer anyone to enter that would"; Nicholls, *op. cit.* 41.

211-228 *The conspirators eagerly await the fifth of November, prepared to perpetrate a crime unparalleled in times past.*

212-17] For the unparalleled barbarity of the act, cf. *Indictment, State Trials* II.164: "of such horror, and monstrous nature, that before now, the tongue of man never deliver'd; the ear of man never heard; the heart of man never conceived; nor the malice of hellish or earthly devil ever practised; Attorney General, *State Trials* II.167: "It is *sine exemplo*, beyond all examples, whether in fact or fiction, even of the tragick poets, who did beat their wits to represent the most fearful and horrible murders; *ibid.*, 176 "O barbarous, and more than Scythian or Thracian cruelty!"; *The Trial of Henry Garnet* 28 March 1606, *State Trials* II.219: (Sir John Croke): "The practice so inhuman, so barbarous, so damnable, so detestable, as the like was never read nor heard of, or ever entered the heart of the most wicked men to imagine"; Goodwin, *El.* 9.14: *cui prior haud aetas audit ulla parem*.

213-14 quale nec antiquae Catilina nefarius olim/Romae intentavit] for a comparison with Catiline, cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II.340: "These Catalines in the raging distemper of their passion". Cf. also Cic., *Mur.* 83.11-12: *L. Catilina cum suo consilio nefariorum hominum.*

214 Iudaeis perditus Haman] Haman, a Persian noble, son of Hammedatha. Because Mordecai would not prostrate himself before him, Haman aimed to destroy all the Jews in the kingdom of Ahasuerus (cf. *Esther* 3.1-6). For a comparison of the conspirators with Haman, cf. Cooper, *Praeludia ad Nonas* (1607) (1-4): *Exitium statuens Iudaeis impius Haman, infami tragicum destinat arte diem: perdere sic Anglos statuit dum proditor, ipsi/Romae infausta schola quinta Novembris adest.*

218-22] For the listing of those who would have perished in the explosion, cf. *The Effect of the Indictment in The Trials of Robert Winter etc. 27 January 1606, State Trials* II.160-61: "as it were with one blast, suddenly, traitorously and barbarously to blow up and tear in pieces our said sovereign lord the king, the excellent, virtuous, and gracious queen Anne, his dearest wife, the most noble prince Henry, their eldest son, and future hope and joy of England; and the lords spiritual and temporal, the reverend judges of the realm, the knights, citizens and burgesses of parliament, and divers other faithful subjects and servants of the king in the said parliament"; cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, ibid.* II.236: "Then the whole royal issue, the council, the nobility, the clergy, nay our religion itself and especially this city of London, that is famous for her riches, more famous for her people..."

221 sanctusque senatus] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.426; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 209.

227-228] cf. Goodwin, *El.* 9.47-48: *Vasta Palatino sunt ora et guttura monstro/uno atrox haustu millia multa vorat.*

229-266 *The speaker graphically envisages the havoc if the plot were to succeed. It would amount to a second fall of Troy: London burning, streets full of armed men, corpses scattered everywhere, rivers flowing with blood, lamentation and tears as mothers bewailed the death of their children. Furthermore, there would be no one left to lament the demise of England. Indeed the demon intended to shift blame for the deed upon the chaste bishops.*

231-2 Centum / si mihi linguae essent] cf. Virgil, *G.* 2.43: *mihi si linguae centum sint ora/que centum*; Id., *A.* 6.625.

241-2 dispergi corpora passim/exanima] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.484: *exanimumque auro corpus vende/ bat Achilles*; *ibid.* 6.149: *praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici.*

242 plenos currentes sanguine rivos] cf. Virgil, *A.* 9.456: *caede locum et pleno spumantis sanguine rivos.*

245 errantes pavidas ... matres] cf. Virgil, *A.* 2.489: *tum pavae tectis matres ingentibus errant.*

246 complexas teneros natos] cf. Virgil, *E.* 5.22: *complexa sui corpus miserabile nati.*

246-7 oscula .../figentes] cf. Virgil, *A.* 2.490: *amplexaeque tenent postes atque oscula figunt.*

247-8 ululatus aedes/femineis passim reboantes] cf. Virgil, *A.* 4.667: *femineo ululatu; ibid.* 9.477.

256-8] Cf. Cooper, *Non. Nov.* p. 18: *et ipsius acerrimos se vindices praetendendo secundo Puritanos (quos vocant) tanti facinoris incusando.*

261 non hominum indubie facinus] cf. Barclay, *De Eadem* (*Sylvae* 1606), p. 43: *non hominum scelus hoc.*

267-276 *God looks down from Heaven and sees the danger*

270] The all-seeing *oculus* of the Father is depicted in visual representations of the interception of the Gunpowder Plot. See A.M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge 1955) 2, pp. 393, 342. One representation (p. 393) by an anonymous engraver and printed in Amsterdam 1621, is headed *Deo trini uni Britanniae bis ultori In memoriam Classis invincibilis subversae submersae Proditionis detectae disiectae*/To God in memorye of his double deliveraunce from y invincible Navie and y unmatcheable powder Treason. In this celebration of the delivery from the Spanish Armada and Gunpowder Plot alike a ray of light issues from the eye of God and penetrates the dark recesses of the cellar. In another (p. 342), engraved by Michael Droeshaut and entitled "The powder Treason Propounded by Sathan, Approved by Antichrist, Enterprised by Papists, Practized by Traitors, Reveled by an Eagle, Expounded by An Oracle, Founded in Hell, Confounded in Heaven", the eye, a symbol of *Providentia divina*, perceives the conspiracy and the depths of hell.

271 abdita et abstrusis penetralia caeca tenebris] cf. Ovid, *M.* 8.458: *ille diu fuerat penetralibus abditus imis.*

276 cingente corona] cf. Virgil, *A.* 10.122 *rara muros cinxere corona*; *ibid.* 11.475.

277-292 *God addresses his angelic host, informing them of the plot and its bitter consequences. He has resolved to avert the disaster.*

279 qui nostrum numen adorant] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.48: *et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat?*; *ibid.* 3.437: *Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora*; Ovid, *M.* 11.540: *hic votis numen adorat.*

280 triticeosque deos] cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 56: *panificosque deos.*

285 certasque ruinas] cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 446: *certamque videt moribunda ruinam.*

291 rapidas ... flammas] cf. Ovid, *M.* 2.123: *rapidae fecit patientia flammae*; *ibid.* 12.274: *correpti rapida, veluti seges arida, flamma.*

292-308 *God summons an angel, tells him to hasten to England and warn the king in a dream of the danger in store, and to urge Lord Monteagle (already advised in a letter to absent himself from parliament) to remember his duty and let the king know the contents of the letter.*

292-308 Cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 707-12 where God summons an eagle; in Milton, *Q. Nov.* he summons Fama.

294 celeri ... cursu] cf. Ovid, *M.* 10.669: *celeri cessataque tempora cursu.*

300 dominum Monteglum] William Parker, fourth baron Monteagle and eleventh baron Morley (1575-1622), known as Lord Monteagle. He married Elizabeth Tresham, daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham. He joined the Earl of Essex in Ireland 1599, receiving a

knighthood there on 12 July. He was involved in Essex's rebellion in London, Jan. 1606. After being committed to the Tower, he was discharged on payment of a fine. After James's accession he enjoyed the favour of the court.

300] The delivery of the letter is described by King James in his *History of the Gunpowder Plot*, *State Trials* II.195: "For, the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the king's return, which was upon a Thursday, being but ten days before the Parliament, the Lord Monteaule, son and heir to Lord Morley, being in his own lodgings ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands".

301-305] As my italics indicate, Herring follows closely the wording of the letter, which was sent anonymously to Lord Monteaule at his house at Hoxton on 26 October 1605:

"My Lord; Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse, to shift off your attendance at this parliament. *For God and man* have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but *retire yourself into your country*, where you may *expect the event* in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, *for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter*, and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you".

(*State Trials* II.197)

The letter is included by John Vicars in his *Mischeefes Myserie* (London, 1617) — a translation of Herring's poem (p. 34).

306-7 officii hunc moneas patriae, patriaeque parentis/curam habeat] cf. *The effect of the Indictment*, *State Trials* II.194: "Next, the said earl did justly and greatly commend the lord Monteaule for his loyal and honourable care of his prince and country".

307 curam] a necessary emendation of *cura* in the London 1606 edition.

309-315 *The angel hastens to Britain and fulfils the instructions, inspiring Lord Monteaule with the ability to interpret the letter.*

311 Heroi ... Morleo] Monteaule also held the title of eleventh baron Morley.

315 velut Oedipus alter] cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 742-43: *Non si Oedipus author/spondeat, hos animo speres rescindere nodos*; *The Trial of Henry Garnet*, *State Trials* II.341: "by an obscure letter, more resembling the riddle of an Oedipus than the counsel of a friend, that he should abstain from the place prefixed at the time determined".

316-322 *Monteaule chooses the Earl of Salisbury and discloses the affair to him, who in turn tells it to others. They show the letter to the king.*

316 regis de consultoribus unum] the Earl of Salisbury, one of the Privy Council. Cf. James's *History of the Gunpowder Plot*. (of Monteagle and the Earl of Salisbury) *State Trials* II.195: "Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the same to the earl of Salisbury, his majesty's principal secretary".

320 Hic sociis narrat reliquis] For Salisbury's consultation of others, cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*, *State Trials* II.196: "And therefore did the earl of Salisbury conclude with the lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the king's absence, impart the same Letter to some more of this majesty's council".

320-21] The letter was shown to the king on 3 November.

322 variat sententia] cf. Ovid, *M.* 15.648: *dissidet et variat sententia*.

323-346 *The king views the letter as of the utmost importance. It corroborates certain rumours which he has heard concerning papists: perhaps they are building some destructive contrivance; perhaps they intend to use gunpowder against them. He is eager to know who is living in the adjoining building, or if there is a cellar running underneath the House.*

324 Indicia haec non sunt temnenda] cf. *State Trials* II.197-98: "The king no sooner read the letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it once again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*).

327-330] For the sentiment that the plot is supported by certain rumours concerning papists, cf. King James's account of the Earl of Salisbury's reaction to the letter: *State Trials* II.195: "... this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted, as well the King himself, as divers of his privy counsellors, concerning some business the Papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combination amongst them against this parliament-time".

332 Surgit nova machina] cf. Virgil, *A.* 2.46: *aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros*.

333 Troianus equus] cf. *The Effect of the Indictment*, *State Trials* II.190: "till the Trojan horse might be brought within the walls of the parliament, with a belly stuffed, not as in old time with armed Greeks, but with hellish gunpowder".

335-36 Errata cerebri/non sunt haec laes] cf. the counsellors' fear before the search is commenced "in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*, *State Trials* II.200).

341] For the king's ingenious interpretation of this sudden means of destruction as gunpowder, cf. his own account in *State Trials* II.198. "<He> did thereupon conjecture, that the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger of blowing up of powder". James contrasts his own interpretation with the Earl of Salisbury's disbelief.

342] For gunpowder as the invention of Satan, cf. Goodwin, *El.* 9.36: *Daemonis inventum*.

347-382 For an account of the discovery of the gunpowder, cf. Nicholls, *op. cit.* 8-10.

347-350 *The Lord Chamberlain investigates, and informs the king that Percy is living in the adjoining house and that there is indeed a cellar full of wood and coal.*

347 *Regalis custos camerae*] Suffolk, the lord Chamberlain. Cf. *State Trials* II.199: "The lord chamberlain, looking upon all things with a heedful indeed, yet, in outward appearance, with but a careless and rackless eye, as became so wise and diligent a minister, he presently addressed himself to the king in the said privy gallery". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*)

351-363 *On 4 November Thomas Knyvet makes a thorough search of the cellar, pretending to be looking for royal vestments that have been stolen. At the door he meets Fawkes, dressed and wearing boots.*

351 *Orta hinc suspicio maior*] Cf. *State Trials* II.200: "This could not but increase the king's former apprehension and jealousy".

352-53 *aulicus antiquus fidusque ... Knevettus*] Thomas Knyvet (d.1622). He was a gentleman of the privy chamber to Queen Elizabeth. He received an MA on her visit to Oxford, 29 Sept. 1592. In 1603 he was presented with the manor of Stanwell, Middlesex by James I. He was knighted on 14 March 1603-4. He was both a gentleman of the privy chamber and justice of the peace for Westminster. For his fidelity and role in the discovery of the plot, cf. *State Trials* II.200: "And, to this purpose, was sir Thomas Knevet, (a gentleman of his majesty's privy-chamber) employed, being a justice of the peace in Westminster and one, of whose ancient fidelity both the late queen and our new sovereign have had large proof; who, according to the trust committed unto him, went, about the midnight next after, to the parliament-house, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*).

355-56 *vestes se quaerere raptas/regineas simulans*] for Knyvet's pretence to search for royal garments, cf. *State Trials* II.200: "upon a pretence of Whyneard's missing some of the king's stuff, or hangings, which he had in keeping, all those rooms should be narrowly ripped for them". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*)

356 *pauca stipante caterva*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 1.497: *incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva*; *ibid.* 4.136.

358 *vestitum atque ocreatum ad limina stantem*] That Fawkes was discovered dressed, wearing boots and standing at the door is attested in *State Trials* II.200-1: "but, before his entry in the house finding Thomas Percy's alledged man, his clothes and boots on, at so dead a time of night". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*). Cf. Pliny, *NH* 19.27: *ocreatis cruribus*. Knyvet thought it strange that he should be thus attired at this time of night; cf. Nicholls, *op. cit.* 9.

vestitum] a necessary emendation of *visitum* in the London 1606 edition

361 *Stygia ... palude*] cf. Virgil, *A.* 6.323; *ibid.* 6.369.

364-380 *Fawkes's arrest and the discovery of the gunpowder: Knyvet having ordered Fawkes's arrest, enters the cellar with an attendant, and overturns piles of wood. The gunpowder is discovered. They scrutinize Fawkes, tear off the crucifix hanging round his neck and extract from his garments the implements with which he intended to kindle the gunpowder.*

364] For Fawkes's arrest, cf. *State Trials* II.201: "he resolved to apprehend him; as he did. (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*).

365] For Knyvet's overturning of the wood, cf. *State Trials* II.201: "< he > caused to be overturned some of the billets and coals". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*).

369 scelus heu scelus ingens] cf. Virgil, *E.* 9.17: *heu, cadit in quemquam tantum scelus?*; Ovid, *M.* 15.88: *heu quantum scelus est*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 274: (*Heu sceleris tantum pectus mortale subibat*); Fletcher, *Loc.* 197: *scelere ingenti*.

370 numeroque triginta/quattuor atque cados et dolia bina recludunt] cf. *State Trials* "he < Knyvet > first found one of the small barrels of powder, and afterwards all the rest, to the number of 36 barrels, great and small".

372 infernali pulvere] cf. Milton, *Ep.* 2.6: *nec inferni pulveris usus ope*.

374 idolum]: the crucifix hanging round Fawkes's neck.

376 instrumenta] cf. *State Trials* II.201: "... found three matches and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him".

377 submitteret] a necessary emendation of *submittere* in the London 1606 edition.

381-387 *Fawkes confesses. All proclaim the barbarity of the act to Heaven and earth.*

381 Hic crimen per se clarum confessus] for Fawkes's instant confession, cf. *State Trials* II.201: "which made him instantly confess his own guiltiness". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*).

381-82 illud/angere se solum quod res infecta fuisset] for Fawkes's statement that his one grievance was that the plot had not succeeded, cf. *State Trials* II.201: "but repenting only, with the said Scaevola, his failing in the execution thereof". (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*).

386 Gallica ... laniena] the massacre of St Bartholemew (1572) when Calvinists who had congregated to celebrate the wedding festivities of Henry, King of Navarre, and Marguerite, sister of King Charles IX, were slaughtered in Paris. Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 135-38.

388-391 *Rumour flies through the city, the court and the streets and proclaims the deed. All praise God.*

388 magnam volitavit Fama per urbem] On Fama rushing through cities, cf. Virgil, *A.* 9.554: *Fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem*; *ibid.*, 10.641: *qualis Fama est volitare figuras*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 201-16.

391 ingens laetitia et sublatae ad sidera palmae] cf. Virgil, *A.* 3.99-100: *mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu/laetitia*; *ibid.*, 2.153: *sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas*; cf. *A.* 1.93; 9.16;

392-452 *The speaker's hymn of thanksgiving to God for saving England: he is the vigilant guardian; his right hand has protected them in spite of the sins they have committed in the past. He prays than men's hearts may thus be softened, their lethargy dispelled and their eyes illuminated; otherwise God's patience may be vexed; may James burn the whore of Rome, spare his loyal subjects and subdue the haughty; may he cause justice to flow like a stream; may he be loved as he reigns, and be famous after his death.*

394 iustas] an obvious emendation of the improbable *instas* in the London 1606 text.

400 faucibus Orci] cf. Virgil, *A.* 6.273: *primisque in faucibus Orci*.

421 luce corusca] cf. Virgil, *A.* 2.470: *exsultat telis et luce coruscus aena*.

423-24] A reference to the plague of 1603 which killed c. 38,000 people in London and subsequently spread to Oxford, Derbyshire and Newcastle. Cf. Thomas Lodge (1580-1623?), *A Treatise of the Plague* (London 1603) in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge* (New York / London 1923; rpt. 1966), Vol. 4 (prefatory epistle *To the Right Hon. The Lord Maior*): "... my poore country-men and afflicted brethren turmoiled and attainted with the graeuous sicknes of the Plague".

423 letifer annus] cf. Virgil, *A.* 3.139: *arboribus satisque lues et letifer annus*.

424 dira lues] cf. Ovid, *M.* 7.523; *M.* 15.626.

435 stipulae ... instar] cf. Ovid, *M.* 1.492: *utque leves stipulae demptus adolentur aristis*.

439 insano ... amore] cf. Virgil, *E.* 10.44; *Id.*, *A.* 2.343.

443 palmam] a necessary emendation of *palmani* in the London 1606 edition.

453-458 *Prayer for the Lords: may they promulgate laws which will reprove papists.*

450 per tractus omnes regni, per compita et urbes] cf. Milton, *Q.* Nov. 224: *compita laeta focus genialibus omnia fumant*.

458 ut oves] cf. Cooper, *Ad regem*, 9-10: *Ecce animas praedatur aper Romanus, ovile/ Christi dilacerat*.

459-482 *Condemnation of papists: they are Cananites, nurslings of the whore; they breathe slaughter and think nothing of theft, rape, adultery or incest. The time has come to eradicate them. If not, the British will fall into another trap. May the British people have no further dealings with the whore of Rome.*

463-64] Cf. Goodwin, *El.* 9.59-60: *Omnibus ordinibus si cervix una fuisset,/(Quod Nero Romanis discupiebat atrox)*.

463 infandum aggressi facinus] cf. Milton, *Ep.* 1.2: *ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas*.

476 barbarus ... Indus] cf. Cic., *Tusc.* 2.52: *Callanus Indus, indoctus ac barbarus*; *ibid.* 5.77 *quae barbaria India vastior aut agrestior?*

476 vel perfidus Afer] cf. Cooper, *In eundem* (Catesby): *Africa monstrorum mater secunda vocatur,/sed monstis cedit, terra Britanna, tuis*.

477 in foveam cassesque ruemus] cf. Milton, *Q.* Nov. 19-20: *cassesque latentes/tendit, ut incautos rapiat*.

483-493 *Concluding prayer to God for protection and the assurance that his name will be praised for ever.*

487 sanctorum sanguine vesci] cf. Virgil, *A.* 3.622: *et sanguine vescitur atro*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 138: *sanctorum et totas implevit sanguine ripas*.

488-93] The statement that the deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot will be celebrated for ever parallels an order issued by parliament: "Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present

parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in every cathedral and parish-church, or other usual place for common prayer, within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, shall always upon the Fifth day of November say morning prayer, and give unto Almighty God thanks for this most happy deliverance [*Statutes at Large*, vol. vii.3. *Iacobi* 1, cap. 1, 1605-6].

488-89] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 393, 422; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 266.

490 Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque sonabunt] cf. Virgil, *E.* 5.78; *A.* 1.609: *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 238.

493 igniferos ... orbes] cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.40-41: *Titan iam pronus in undas/ibat et igniferi tantum demerserat orbis*.

N. GOLVERS

THE LATIN YOUTH POETRY OF F. VERBIEST, S.J.,
(° 1623 - † 1688) REDISCOVERED

As is commonly known, the '*lingua franca*' of the Jesuit China mission during the 17th century, as far as its writings to Europe are concerned, was Latin, and this situation only changed — in a dramatic way — with the arrival of the French missionaries at the end of that century.¹ Therefore, the study of the China Mission, and at the same time of this early phase in the relations between Europe and China — which enjoys an increasing interest nowadays² — is a much promising and thus far neglected work area for the classicist scholar who has a great responsibility for unlocking this quite obscure chapter of Europe's cultural heritage, by means of annotated new editions and translations, both for the reader of today and for the historian, in Europe and in China³

Apart from this general observation about Latin as the favourite vehicle in the earlier European relations with the Far East, and in the

¹ This is only one aspect of a more general phenomenon in Jesuit scientific literature, on which see a.o.: S. J. Harris, *Jesuit Ideology and Jesuit Scientific Activity in the Society of Jesus, 1540-1773*, Ph.D.Dissertation Madison, University of Wisconsin 1988 (Ann Arbor, 1990), pp. 149-151 (and p. 339, graph C-14).

² The common organ for this research, apart from a series of journals of a sinological, historical and missionary nature, is since 1976 the small *China Mission Studies (1550-1800) Bulletin*, renamed since 1989: *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal (SWCRJ)*, both edited by Mr. D.E. Mungello.

³ Such work has been done e.g. by Ch.D. Van Tuyl, who recently translated A. Kircher's *China Illustrata* (Amstelodami, 1667) — unfortunately with only very few annotations and many errors in rendering the onomastic data throughout the original text; an Italian translation of M. Martini's *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (Amstelodami, 1655) was under preparation at the 'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli', but we have had no more news of it since 1987. The writer of the present contribution has made an annotated English edition of Verbiest's *Astronomia Europaea*, (Dilingae, 1687), which is in the press .

descriptions of China in its various aspects⁴, we would like to know more individual aspects of the Latin culture of these Jesuit missionaries in China. Apart from some biographical data concerning their education in Europe, and some stylistic evaluations, very little information is available. One important exception is Ferdinand Verbiest (° Pittem, Flanders 1623 — † Peking 1688)⁵, undisputably one of the 'giants' of the 17th century-Chinese Mission: besides his primary missionary tasks, he served, between (early) 1669 and 1688, the Chinese — Manchu K'ang-hsi Emperor in a variety of ways: astronomy and calendar making, mathematic instruction, geodesy, cannon casting, clock making, etc., and even as a diplomat in the difficult relations between his Chinese "*gemina patria*" and Russia. For all these and other activities, we have — apart from other sources — his personal testimony in a very abundant and various œuvre, written mainly in Chinese and Latin — but partly also in Manchu, Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish — dealing with mathematical (astronomical), theological (philosophical) and geographic matters. It is, however, in his abundant correspondence to (Macao and) Europe, almost entirely in Latin and in Portuguese, that we get some clear and explicit utterances on the author's classical background, which go further than a purely instrumental use of the Latin language and of his adherence to it⁶. We will have the opportunity to return to this point in the second part of this contribution.

The very first proof of this adherence, however, is a collection of 6 elegiac poems and 4 epigrams, of a profane inspiration, written by the young '*rhetor*' Verbiest in 1639/1640, and published in the same year in

⁴ For an overview of the Jesuit literature from and concerning China in the 17th century, written in Latin, see my: *Scientific Literature in Latin by the Jesuits in XVIIth-century China*, read at the *Congresso internazionale: Il Latino nell'età moderna* (Rome 15-18 April 1991) in the press.

⁵ There is a recent biography, made by R.A. Blondeau, *Mandarijn en Astronoom. Ferdinand Verbiest s.j. (1623-1688) aan het hof van de Chinese Keizer* (Brugge - Utrecht, 1970). This and other circulating works all are mainly based on older works, esp. by H. Bosmans, s.j., or use materials discovered by them. A substantial breakthrough in this situation may have set in on the occasion of the *International Conference on the Life and Work of Ferdinand Verbiest* (...), organised in Leuven - Heverlee (Belgium) on Sept. 12-16, 1988, the proceedings of which will shortly be published in the Monograph Series of the *Monumenta Serica*, St.-Augustin (Bonn). Current research, both at the Verbiest Project and the Verbiest Foundation of the K.U.Leuven, has been undertaken with an eye to a completely new, critical biography of Verbiest.

⁶ See H. Josson, S.I. - L. Willaert, S.I., *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus Directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin* (Bruxelles, 1938); I am preparing the edition of a supplement, with appr. 60 new items.

Kortrijk (Courtrai), the Southern Flemish city where he just had finished his humanities. This item has been fully described in the older Verbiest bibliographies, a.o. by C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 8, Bruxelles-Paris, 1898, col. 575, and by H. Bosmans, s.j.⁷; moreover, a short synopsis of the contents of these poems — clearly the result of a reading and understanding of the original text — was published by C. Vincken in his short biography of Verbiest in 1911⁸. Both Sommervogel and Bosmans refer in their description directly to “...un exemplaire...dans un volume de miscellanea à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain”, which unfortunately was lost in the fire of this rich library during the first World War (August 25th, 1914). All later descriptions, e.g. that by R. A. Blondeau⁹, are derived from the older and give no additional information. Recent research through older collections and libraries in Belgium and the North of France turned out to be unsuccessful and no copy was thus far detected¹⁰. In consequence, Verbiest's poetry, apart from the very schematic descriptions made up in the early 20th century, appeared to be definitively lost.

In January 1991, however, I received the permission to do some research in the abundant collection of papers, left by H. Bosmans, s.j., that indefatigable researcher on the history of mathematics in Belgium¹¹, which is now, since approximatively a decade, in Namur (Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Religieuses)¹². Going through this mass of notes, all classified and carefully bound in ‘cahiers’, each with a handwritten ‘Table des matières’, I was lucky enough to discover, in cahier III b / 14 (“Notes sur F. Verbiest, II”), a handmade copy of the text of this little volume, in Bosmans' usual calligraphy (‘pièce 5’).

⁷ See H. Bosmans, s.j., ‘Ferdinand Verbiest, Directeur de l'Observatoire de Peking (1623-1688)’, *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, 72 (1912), 195-198; 375-464 (pp. 197-198).

⁸ C. V(incken), ‘Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. 1623-1688’, *Bode van het Heilig Hart* (June 1911), pp. 183-188; 210-217; 244-251 (pp. 183-184).

⁹ R.A. Blondeau, *Mandarijn en astronoom*, pp. 152-153; his description seems to be exclusively derived from Vincken's short article, though it is not mentioned by Blondeau.

¹⁰ We sincerely thank Prof. Dr. D. Sacré (Universiteit Antwerpen) for his help with this research.

¹¹ On his life and work, see esp. H. Bernard-Maitre, ‘Un historien des Mathématiques en Europe et en Chine: le Père Henri Bosmans, s.j. (1852-1928)’, *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 3 (1950), 619-656, and the necrology by P. Pelliot, ‘Henri Bosmans, s.j.’, *T'oung Pao*, 26 (1929), 190-199.

¹² I am very grateful to Father H. Tihon, s.j., *archiviste adjoint* of the CDRR for his permission.

According to Bosmans' clear statement in these notes, this copy was also derived from the printed specimen in the Leuven University Library, where it apparently had been bound with several other items in one miscellaneous volume (cf. supra) and classified in "*Armoire VII, rayon III, (nr.) 147*"¹³. Bosmans described it as: "...une brochure imprimée de 24 pages in 4°, titre compris", and, on 24 March 1915 he noted, in an "Observation II": "*L'original a péri dans l'incendie de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain*". Fortunately, his personal copy of the text comprises the complete edition, from the title page up to the author's name 'in fine': *ita accinebat / Ferdinandus Verbiest Pitthemien-sis / Rhetor Collegii Cortraceni Societatis Iesu / Anno M.DC.XXXX / ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. As the Bosmans copy has also 24 pages, the title page included, i.e. the same number as is reported for the original edition, we can be sure that the page division in this copy reflects that of its model. This collection of poems — which appears at the end of this contribution — is a '*genethliacum*', containing, apart from the dedication and a short preface in prose, six 'elegiae' and 4 'epigrammata' (310 verses in all), composed on the occasion of the birth in Madrid, on 18 October 1639, of Iñez (Agnes), daughter of Don Fernandez de Ayala, Fonseca y Toledo, "conde de Ayala, señor de Coca y Alajios", and Doña Isabella (Elisabetha) de Zuñiga, herself the daughter of Balthasar de Zuñiga (†1622); he had married Francisca van Claerhout, a noble lady of the local gentry in the Pittem area; by this matrilineal background, the child just born was the legitimate Dame of Pittem — Verbiest's own native village — and of many other seigniories and places in the neighbourhood. There was even a more particular and personal motive why F. Verbiest composed these poems: his own father, Joost (Judocus) Verbiest was, since 1622, acting bailiff and collector on behalf of the Zuñiga family in the Pittem area, and thus in some way connected with the happy event described: maybe it is not a pure coincidence that it was precisely in 1639 that Joost Verbiest had obtained a promotion as a nominal collector for the whole region of Pittem¹⁴.

¹³ As there has never been a printed catalogue of the old University Library in Leuven, we can no longer know which exactly were the other items in this miscellaneous volume.

¹⁴ For all these aspects, I refer to the works of the meritorious local historian, Mr. Valère Arickx (Kortrijk), author a. o. of *Geschiedenis van Pittem* (Pittem, 1951); he was also in charge of the exhibition catalogue *Herdenking Ferdinand Verbiest S.J., 1623-1688*

When the volume was drafted, Verbiest was only 17 years old, and a 'pupil' in the fifth class of the humanities in the Jesuit college of Kortrijk. This piece of occasional poetry may be seen as proof, not only of his personal gifts in the field of writing Latin verse, but also as a reflection of the rather high standards of the contemporary Latin education in the Jesuit college of Kortrijk¹⁵. Certainly involved in the development of this educational level was the famous Flemish Neo-Latin poet Sidronius Hosschius (De Hossche, °1596-†1653), who taught Latin and Greek literature there between 1637 and 1649, i. e. exactly in the years that the young Verbiest got his education¹⁶. Hosschius in those years was also *magister repetentium*, in charge of the *seminarium repetentium humaniora / litteras humaniores*, organised since 1629 in the Jesuit college of Kortrijk, where the novices of the entire Flemish-Belgian Jesuit province came together to 'repeat' and to complete their education in ancient literature¹⁷. Although I have no further positive evidence, it is quite attractive to suppose that Hosschius had regular personal contacts with Verbiest and even that it was he who stimulated the young and talented pupil to write and publish these poems. In any event, some years later, in 1645, when F. Verbiest had finished his 'philosophical' studies, he returned, as a young Jesuit, to

(Pittem, 1988), in which he has published a reproduction of a portrait of Doña Iñez de Zuñiga (°1639-†1710), made by Carreno de Miranda. For the genealogy of the Spanish-Flemish local noble house, see, besides V. Arickx (passim), also *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*, tomo LXX (1930), pp. 1535-1536.

¹⁵ Concerning the older history of the Jesuit college of Kortrijk (Courtrai), see a.o. A. Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 2 vols (Bruxelles, 1927), I, pp. 363-367; P. Debbaudt, 'Le Collège des Jésuites à Courtrai', *Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, N.R.7 (1928), 83-89; P. Thurman, *De opheffing van het Jezüetencollege te Kortrijk* (Kortrijk, 1984), pp. 12-37, and N. Maddens (ed.), *De geschiedenis van Kortrijk* (Tielt, 1990), pp. 308-310. Several programs of plays, performed in the 30s of the XVIIth century by the pupils of the local Jesuit college, are listed by C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols (Bruxelles - Paris, 1891), II, col. 1583.

¹⁶ The reference work on S. Hosschius still is: J. Levaux, 'Notice historique sur le Révérend Père Sidronius de Hossche de la Compagnie de Jésus', *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, 4e série, vol. 36 (1886), 1-93, and J.J. Mertz S.J. - J.P. Murphy S.J., *Jesuit Latin Poets* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 84-92.

¹⁷ A series of documents concerning this institution in the Flemish-Belgian province is in the Algemeen Rijksarchief in Brussels, Fonds Vlaams-Belgische Jezüieten, dossier 685; see also: *Historia Provinciae Flandro-Belgicae Societatis Jesu quam e veteribus documentis collegit C.F. Waldack ejusdem Societatis. Annus unus specimenis causa 1638us* (Gandavi - Bruxellis, 1867), pp. 24-25; A. Poncelet, *Histoire*, I, pp. 449-450.

this *seminarium repentium* where Hosschius' influence must now surely have been strong. Verbiest's presence in this milieu, thus far unobserved in the current biographies, is attested by one short note in the '*Catalogi tertii personarum Provinciae Flandro-Belgicae*' of 1645¹⁸.

Turning back to 1640, as the young poet had finished his work, it was published, according to the title page, "*Contraci, Apud Viduam Joannis van Ghemmert*". Of this printer, who was active between 1596 and ca. 1635 'in tribus columbis / in de drie Duiven', close to the church of Sint Maarten, some other work is still preserved; when he died in 1635, his widow had continued the office, as is proved by some other titles¹⁹. Both before and after 1635, the publications show a close connection with the *Societas Jesu* of Kortrijk (and Ieper), as most of the items recorded are programs for the local Jesuit theatre. It is in this context that Verbiest's booklet, the product of a highly promising 'rhetor' of the same college, was entrusted to the Van Ghemmert printing house: it must, therefore, be added to the lists of Diegerick and Viaene, who both overlooked this precious item.

About three decades later, in a letter of 18 April 1668, Verbiest — with then 9 years in China, and 8 of them in Peking — in one of his very rare expressions of private feelings, recalls his humanities in Kortrijk, indicating at the same time one of the most substantial sources of his classical culture, viz. Ovid, Hosschius' cherished poet! Concerning a strange celestial phenomenon, observed during his house arrest in Peking, he testifies — after a tentative description of the phenomenon itself: "Atque haec quidem ita sese habere oportet plane credere, et non multum contra argumentari, *sicut magister olim meus Metamorphosim Ovidianam nobis praelegens identidem inculcabat*"²⁰ In one way or another, this fragment contains an authentic glimpse of

¹⁸ I owe this information once more to Father H. Bosmans, s.j. (cahier III b 14, pp. 23-25), who located the '*Catalogi tertii...*' in the 'Archives de la Province Belge de la Compagnie de Jésus'. They are now in Brussels, Royal Library, ms. 406 (20209). During these years, Verbiest has met also another highly promising poetical talent of the Flemish Jesuit province, viz. J. Wallius (Vande Walle: 1599-1690), who in a postscript to a letter of 11 Oct 1653, informed about Verbiest's wish to go to the missions (published by A. Roersch, 'Correspondance inédite de Wallius', *Le Musée belge*, 25 (1921), p. 37).

¹⁹ See on these: A. Diegerick, 'Notes sur l'origine de la typographie courtraisienne', *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, 4^e série, vol. 28 (1876-1877), 65-74, and A. V(iaene), 'Drukkerij "in de drij duiven" te Kortrijk', *De Biekerf*, 76 (1975/1976), 148.

²⁰ See Josson-Willart, *Correspondance*, p. 127 (April 18, 1668).

contemporary Jesuit education and its methods²¹, although we are not able to convert with certainty the elements of this tableau in concrete terms. For instance: is it the Latin professor of the fifth year of his humanities (when Ovid used to be scheduled) that Verbiest is thinking of? Or is this fragment a reminiscence of his one year in the *seminarium repentium*? In the latter case, the anonymous *magister* in Verbiest's letter would be Sidronius Hosschius, called *magister repentium* in the aforementioned *Catalogi tertii...* and *alter sui saeculi Ovidius* by some of his contemporaries²².

Two other Ovidian reminiscences or quotations are also found elsewhere in his correspondence from 'the other world' to Europe, both in his '*apologia*' of 1681 against the invective by D. Navarrete; the first passage is in *Corr.*, p. 333:

Verum quidquid sit de hac re, si P. Navarrete debet luere quidquid ipsius Christiani peccant, dico cum poeta: '*In poenas non satis unus erit*'²³.

In the same context, now defending a careful and conscious application of Christian apologies in China, Verbiest compares this medium to a medicine, used at the right moment or not; for this purpose, he uses Ovidian terms, borrowed from the *Remedia Amoris*, 131-132:

*Temporibus medicina valet*²⁴ *data tempore prosunt*
et data non apto tempore vina nocent.

Besides these few Ovidian remembrances, there is also one Virgil quotation, in a letter dated 1 Sept. 1686 (*Corr.*, p. 506); speaking of the

²¹ The preferential position of Ovid (together with Virgil and Horace) in the Jesuit classical education was prescribed by the Jesuit rules: cf. *Ordo*, 39 and *Instructio*, f° 32 (quoted in A. Poncelet, *Histoire*, II, p. 50).

²² Cf. A. Poncelet, *Histoire*, II, p. 530 n.4; a selection of his works was also incorporated in the *Collectio poetarum elegiacorum stylo et sapore Ovidiano scribentium*, edited in 1789 in Vienna by Ch. Michaeler. There was one copy of Hosschius' *Elegiarum libri VI* (Second ed., 1667) in the Pei-t'ang library, the historical heir of the libraries of the Hsi-t'ang, where F. Verbiest remained between 1659 and 1688; according to the description in the catalogue of this library (see H. Verhaeren, C.I.C.M., *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang* (Pékin, 1949), p. xiv and nr. 1638), this volume contains an indication, proving that it once belonged to J.-P. Gozani, s.j. (* 1647; rector of the Jesuit residence of Peking since 1716), and thus appeared in Peking only after Verbiest's death.

²³ Quoted from Ovid, *Heroides*, II, 44. The original text, presenting the reading *eris* has been adapted to the particular situation in which it is quoted.

²⁴ All the modern editions have *Temporis ars medicina fere est*; Verbiest's variant, however, is listed in the "apparatus criticus" as a reading of Parisinus Latinus 8460 from the XIIIth-XVth century, which was adopted in the Heinsius edition (first ed., 1629).

quite harsh tones in some letters of the then Visitor, Pr. Intorcetta, to the Fathers throughout China, Verbiest comments:

..Usus est verbis nimis mordacibus atque ostendentibus illud: *Manet alta mente repostum*,

referring to Virgil, *Aen.*, I, 26 (there related to the psychological wounds caused by Paris' *iudicium*).

It is hard to say if these, albeit rare reminiscences to the classical literature²⁵ are the result either from Verbiest's own memory or of a consultation of copies, which were present in the contemporary libraries of the Jesuit residences in Peking, viz. mainly the Hsi-t'ang (after 1704: Nan t'ang). In one case, i.e. the quotation from Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, 131-132, Verbiest apparently cites a specific variant, which we find also in the Heinsius edition, the one listed in the catalogue of the Pei-t'ang library, the historic heir of the former Jesuit libraries in China²⁶. At least in this case, we could have a slight presumption, that F.V. is quoting from a specific edition at his disposal in Peking, and not (only) from his own memory.

Apart from these classical reminiscences, there is still one interesting echo of the classical heritage, viz. in his 'self-definition' in the letter of September 1676 to the Russian Czar²⁷. This letter, originally composed in Latin, is only preserved in its contemporaneous Russian translation, and quoted by H. Bosmans in a French translation²⁸. Verbiest deplores here his decreasing ability to write in 'golden Latin', which would be due to the fact of "being exiled in the same way as the poet, in the barbarian area". In this reference, the hidden evocation of Ovid is quite obvious, and by this flattering comparison, Verbiest — defining himself

²⁵ A quotation from Manilius, *Astron.*, I, 901-904b (Josson-Willaert, *Correspondance*, p. 98) is not relevant to our purpose, as it is only a second-hand quotation, taken from E. Bovarro Frances, *Tractatus de cometis qui apparuerunt praeterito mense Novembri anni 1618* (Ulyssipone, 1619), c. 7.

²⁶ See the catalogue by H. Verhaeren, which also has a long history of these collections on pp. v-xxxv. See besides a series of interesting contributions such as: H. Bernard, 'Une bibliothèque médicale de la Renaissance conservée à Peking', *Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore*, 8 (1947), 99-118; A. Retif, 'Une bibliothèque de la Renaissance en Chine', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 3^e série, 12 (1953), 113-123.

²⁷ Cf. Josson-Willaert, *Correspondance*, pp. 190-194.

²⁸ Cf. H. Bosmans, s.j., 'Le problème des relations de Verbiest avec la Cour de Russie', *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, 63 (1913), p. 202: "(...)Car exilé et emprisonné depuis plus de 20 ans, j'ai oublié la langue d'or, et n'y étant plus exercé, avec le poète exilé je me suis habitué au Tartare barbare".

as another Ovid — is situating himself in a lengthy literary tradition of classical origin²⁹, which proves, once more, his adherence to his classical education.

Hereafter, I will publish the text of his much sought-after poems, on the basis of Bosmans' careful transcription, which also included the pagination and other editorial marks, but which is not always fully trustworthy. I have corrected his transcription when in my opinion it was needed, to constitute a sound text, referring to the 'original' version in the notes (HB); it is, however, just possible that these 'errors' were misprints in the original edition itself. Finally, as the only references to contemporary matters are the personal names and the toponyms, the rest being of commonly known classicist origin, I abandoned the idea of commenting on the text itself. The personal names are easily identifiable, *Fer(di)nandus* being the father's name, and *Elisabetha* the mother's; the toponyms mentioned on the dedication page and in *elegia* V all refer to parts of the hereditary possessions of this noble couple, both in Spain and in the Low Countries, which we could not all retrace. Apart from the Spanish *Tarazona* (Tarraçona), *Ayala*, *Coca*, *Doncos* and *Villoria*, which can be found in the Spanish *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*, we need some more inside information concerning the de Zuñiga family to identify the other places; the names of Flemish seigniories, *Maldegheem*, *Pitthem*, *Coolskamp*, *Uytkercke* and *Assenbroek* are still well-known Flemish village names: Maldegem, Pittem, Koolskamp, Uitkerke (Blankenberge) and Assebroek resp.; *Ayshove* is the name of an old fief in Koolskamp-Ardooie (near Pittem), and *Barseye* seems to be a variant of Brasseye, fief in Bellegem near Kortrijk. The names *Guyse* and *Coutsy* could not be identified and should perhaps be sought in the North of France.

²⁹ Concerning this 'topos' see a. o.: K. Smolak, 'Der verbannte Dichter — Identifizierungen mit Ovid; Mittelalter und Neuzeit', *Wiener Studien*, N.F 14 (1980), 158-191, and E. Doblhofer, 'Die Sprachnot des Verbannten am Beispiel Ovids', in *Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire: Fr.Munari zum 65 Geburtstag*, ed. U. J. Staache - W. Maaz - F. Wagner (Hildesheim, 1986), pp. 100-116.

Illustrissimis coniugibus

don ferdinando

elisabethae de zuñiga

et fonseca

marchionibus

de tarraçona

comitibus

de ayala

baronibus

de maldeghem, guyse, coutsy &c

dominis civitatum

de coca, alaexos, castrexon, valde fuentes, villoria

doncos, arienega, vallium, de lodio,

orosco, arestana &c.

toparchis

de pitthem, coolscamp, ayshove, uyt

kercke, assenbroek, barseye &c.

in filiae amantissimae

natali

gratulatio

Cortraci, apud Viduam Joannis van Ghemmert
Anno M. DC. XXXX.

Nata est

Anno a partu Virginis

millesimo sexcentesimo trigesimo nono

decimo octavo Octobris

Madriti.

3

Illustrissime Ferdinande

Haereret mea dum ita properaret Musa, & tam ru/des hosce incul-
tosque primae adhuc aetatis nostrae / versiculos ad tam gravem excul-
tumque Heroem / transmittere erubesceret, nisi uti Pithemij me-/cum
nata, ita parum agrestis illa esset, qualiscum-/que tamen, dum non ea
quae voluit, sed quae potuit conata / est, ut si non omnino affectui,
muneri saltem suo quoquo modo / satisfaceret, in tanto tuorum plausu,
communique, quod illustris-/sima tua coniux unâ cum filiola sua nobis
omnibus peperit, gaudio, / aliquid potius, etiam rude, & quod solum
poterat, agreste effutire, / quam omnino conticescere maluit. Excipies
itaque benigno, quo / omnia soles, vultu meum hoc, etsi non satis
dignum, qualecum-/que tamen, at grati certe animi debitaque in te
observantiae argu-/mentum; quod si vel ex sua vel ex tua dignitate
spectetur, aut nullum / aut forte perexiguum, si meis ex viribus,
mediocre: si ex animo / maximum iudicabitur. Neque enim, quae
prudentia vestra est, / tam quid hîc scribam, quam quâ aetate, & quo
animo id scribam / considerabis; ab affectu dependent omnia. Quemad-
modum hîc / minima ex maximis, ita ex minimis maxima quaevis efficit.
Neque / etiam ignoras maiora a magnis, quam a parvis meique simili-

bus / expectari. Nos enim, quod parvis satis est, magna dum tentavi-
mus, vix adhuc quidquam incepimus, maiora tamen (ut speramus) /
dabimus, cum maiora maior aetas permittet. Tum nimirum mate-/riam
ante alias amplissimam suppeditabit moritura numquam illu-/strissimae
familiae vestrae gloria, quae tot avorum imagines, tot / expressa
virtutum exempla omnibus post se saeculis relinquet. In-//

terea

A 2

4.
terea tamen cum optima liberorum haereditas sit pia paternae lau-/dis
aemulatio, hoc unum intimo (quoad potero) ex animo preca-/bor, ut
tua haec, quam divino concessam munere gratulamur, fi-/liola, tam tibi
quam tu patri virtute similis, praeclarissimam quam / à maioribus suis
accepit recte factorum veraeque laudis gloriam, / in quam plurimos
eosque tibi tuaeque quam simillimos virtuti po-/steros quam longissime,
diutissimeque diffundat.

ita vovebat
Illustrissimae familiae tuae
Humillimus cliens

Ferdinandus Verbiest, Pitthemiensis
Filius Magistri Iudoci Verbiest Praetoris & receptoris bonorum
Dominiorum vestrorum in Pitthem, Coolscamp & Ayshove.

ge-

genethliacum

in natalem

illustrissimae marchionissae

de tarraçona

filiae unicae

illustrissimorum coniugum

don ferdinandi

et elisabethae de zuñiga et fonseca

marchionum de tarraçona comitum de ayala &c.

elegia I

Calliope varijs accinentium ad cunas Virtutum
Charitumque obsequijs recreatur.

- 1 Dicebam: “Lucina fave, totque adspice curas,
Et Fernandiadae vota precesque domus.
Te vocat, & tacitis suspirans saepe querelis
Implorat medicas Elisabetha manus.
5 Ah nisi succurras, perdes duo corpora in uno
Et geminum in luctum funera bina dabis.

Ante

A 3

6.

illustrissimae marchionissae

- Ante suam perimet matrem, quam viderit infans
Ante nocens patri, quam bene natus erit.
Ah melius! patremque metu, matremque dolore
10 Eripe, quamque potes, nam potes, adfer opem,
Sic semper faciles dicaris reddere partus
Dum referas iunctas pronuba diva manus.

- Tunc tibi votivas suspendam mille tabellas
 Et dicam: haec gratae dona parentis habe.”
 15 Haec ego; Mota Dea est, nostrumque experta favorem
 “Mater, ait, subolem, quam petis, illa dabit.
 Haec magnos, fateor, prius est subitura dolores,
 Sed pariet magnus gaudia magna dolor.
 Pone metum, Fernande, dedit tibi debita coniux
 20 Quae prius optasti gaudia, pone metum.
 Nata tibi suboles, tantae nova gloria stirpis,
 Nostraque sunt illo gaudia nata die,
 Haec quoque percipimus, quamvis procul absumus: absens
 Sic sibi quae vellet cernere fingit amor.
 25 At vos, Hesperiae, quibus haec fas cernere, terrae,
 Plaudite io. tanto dicite digna die.

Quod

7

genethliacum.

- Quod licet ad cunas absens mea carmina mittam
 Et quo non possum corpore, mente sequar.
 Tu pater interea teneris da basia labris,
 30 Et quamvis dederis plurima, plura refer.
 Aspicias? Ut placidis quid lene arridet ocellis,
 Iam nunc risu suo velle placere patri?
 Amplexus petit ecce tuos, tibi parvula tendit
 Brachia, quasque potest, porrigit illa manus
 35 Maternumque suis exoptat sugere labris
 Uber, et in caro ludere posse sinu.
 Qualis fronte micat? Similis quam forma parenti
 Ut reor, haec dices pars mei, & illa mei est,
 Inque uno geminos poteris cognoscere vultus
 40 Namque oculos patris, caetera matris habet.

v. 25 HB: Ah vos; At vos / conj. J. IJsewijn.

v. 27 HB: meam.

- Quosque refert facie, referet virtute parentes:
 In natâ totus vivet uterque parens.
 Sic eadem virtutis erit, quae nominis haeres.”
 Hanc primam patrias dum petet inter opes
 45 Iam nunc attonitas rapit ad cunabula Divas
 Tres inter Charites prima futura Charis.

Sic

A 4

8

illustrissimae marchionissae

- Sic oculi, niveaeque manus, & eburnea cervix,
 Castaque cum labris ora, genaeque placent.
 Ecce venit Probitas, laetâque Modestia fronte,
 50 Et sociâ iunctus cum Pietate Pudor.
 Haec spargit violas, roseas fert illa coronas,
 Liliaque aeternae signa pudicitiae.
 Dum parat haec cunas, gremio foveat illa puellam,
 Basiaque alternis datque petitque labris.
 55 Altera ad alterius convertens lumina vultum
 “Quantus, ait, roseo splendet in ore decor?”
 Haec oculos, stupet illa manus, stupet altera frontem,
 Illa genas, teneros laudat & ille pedes.
 Iamque omnes famulis cunas agitare lacertis
 60 Et viridi certant flore operire torum.
 Naeniolis teneras mulcent puerilibus aures;
 Illa canit, vocat haec: “blandule somne, veni”;
 Hos inter plausus omnes circumspicit infans,
 Et gaudet vultu quamque notare suo,
 65 Et modo subridet, modo parvas arrigit aures,
 Et capit oblatas ore manuque rosas.

ele-

v. 58 HB: laudet.

v. 60 totum HB torum *conj. Sacré*.

genethliacum.elegia IIPietasproavitam in Deum religionem
commendat.

- 1 Utque suam agnovit, cum primum vidit, alumnam
 Ante alias Pietas sic prius orsa loqui est:
 “Eia age magna ducum suboles, superisque, tuoque
 Cui bene coepisti vivere, vive Deo.
- 5 Prima tuis virtus tecum crescentibus annis
 Crescat, & aetatis sit comes illa tuae:
 Dirigat haec gressus, haec te deducat euntem,
 Quodque optat socium cingat utrimque latus;
 Omnia cum fugiunt, sola haec post fata superstes
- 10 Fida suis remanet, quae fuit ante, comes:
 Hac duce maternis ornare altaria gemmis
 Et donis disces templa replere tuis.

O quo-

B

10

illustrissimae marchionissae

- O quoties suspensa sacras anathemata ad aras
 Accensisque dabis thura adolenda focus!
- 15 Iam nunc effigies, fusasque ex aere columnas,
 Vestitasque auro cerno nitere trabes.
 Iam nunc erectae statuæ, simulacraque Divûm,
 Eque suis surgunt marmora caesa iugis.
 Cumque tuæ longo numerabis in ordine gentis
- 20 Munera, & antiquae tot monumenta domus.

- Ostendesque, oculisque procul, digitoque notabis
 Tot mihi sacratis fixa trophaea tholis,
 Haec avus, haec atavus, proavus dedit illa, triumphans
 Illa pater, genitrix haec paritura dabit.
- 25 Tot tamen ad gazas, & avorum munera dices:
 Addantur patriis haec mea munera tholis.”
 Venturosque tibi tot forte precaberis annos
 Annua quot dederis munera, quotque dabis
 Quod superest, Libitina, fave, date fortia Parcae
- 30 Fila, date Althaeae munera rapta rogo;
 Ut licet haec citius mereatur, serius astra
 Virtutisque suae debita regna petat.”

ele-

11

genethliacum.

elegia III

Virginitas
alumnae suae maiorum
exempla proponit.

- 1 Dixerat: & caris quae stabat proxima cunis
 Virginitas tales edidit ore sonos
 “O felix, quaecumque tibi dabit ubera nutrix
 Parvula quae poterit membra fovere sinu!
- 5 Felices nimium qui te genuere parentes!
 Felix quae tanti nata parentis eris!
 Est aliquid per tot proavos, abavosque potentes
 Tot clarum titulis posse referre genus:
 Scilicet alta suos exsurgunt semina in artus;
- 10 Eminet in natis mens animosa patrum.

v. 26 munera tholis *vitiat metrum*. Fortasse scrib. dona tholis.

- Tu quoque cum primâ scriptos ab origine postes
 Cerasque, & veterum stemmata clara ducum,
 Et cum patre suâ cernes in imagine matrem:
 Dic, quâ maiores tot praeiere, sequar.
 15 Penelopem spectent aliae, tu disce parentem:
 Non caret exemplis tam generosa domus.

Quin

B 2

12

illustrissimae marchionissae

- Quin alijs etiam spectabere virgo puellis:
 Componet mores te duce quaeque suos:
 Sic gravis incessus, vultusque, animusque placebit
 20 Ingenuusque tuo, qui sedet ore, pudor.
 Cum te spectabit, sibi sic saepe obvia dicet:
 O quam dissimilis moribus illa meis!
 Adspice deiectos terrae ut defigat ocellos,
 Quâ gravitate latus, quâ movet illa pedes?
 25 Quam bene virgineum spirant utrimque pudorem
 Lumina, & Hyblaeis aemula labra rosis?
 Sic oculos, sic illa manus, sic continet ora:
 Sic post hac oculos, ora, manusque feram
 Sic exempla trahent, sic frons faciesque movebit
 30 Tantaque iuncta suae forma pudicitiae.
 Tolle tuas Cytherea faces, tua spicula tolle:
 Nil in tam casto corpore iuris habes
 Haec mea semper erit, mihi quem sacravit honorem,
 Secum ad legitimos deferet illa toros.”

- 35 Sic ait: utque sui cum lacte instillat amorem
 Ubera virgineo plena pudore dedit

Modestia

13

genethliacum.

elegia IIII

Modestia

se fidam in omnibus comitem pollicetur.

- 1 Arrisit comiti, placidoque modestia vultu
 Subiunxit motae talia verba cheli,
 “Nunc nunc claude oculos, placidum cape, parvula, somnum.
 Nemo quiescentem, qui male turbet, erit.
- 5 Postea trunca mihi te reddere verba docebo,
 Et blaesâ carum voce vocare Patrem.
 Primaque cum terrae vestigia figere disces
 Noster erit tremulam te tenuisse labor.
 Dulce erit et teneris, ne te sors, parvula, laedas,
- 10 Brachiolis famulas supposuisse manus.
 At cum sera magis, graviorque adoleverit aetas,
 Tunc eris in curas erudienda meas.

Quo

B 3

illustrissimae marchionissae

- Quo tua cumque feres tenero vestigia gressu,
 Ipsa ero dux comiti, tu comes ipsa duci:
 15 Seu plectrum pulsare voles, digitosque, manusque,
 Vestraeque aptabo commoda fila lyrae:
 Sive chelyn, cytharamque petes, tibi carmina dicam
 Sive canes, tenui subsequar ipsa sono:
 Denique quidquid ages, semper tibi proxima iungar
 20 Nostraeque laudabunt lumina, quidquid ages.
 Siquid acu pinges, victam superabis Arachnem:
 Hoc volet ipsa suum dicere Pallas opus.
 Haec tamen, aut similis telam distinguet imago
 Unde tuum noscat postera fama genus.
 25 Hesperia aurato circumscribetur in orbe
 Quaeque petit fessis littora Phoebus equis.
 Fluminibus campos distingues, urbibus agros,
 Hinc Tagus, inde suas volvet Iberus aquas.
 In medio surget sublimi vertice in altum
 30 Regia, & hinc patriae culmina summa domus.
 Inde videbuntur proavorum fulta columnis
 Plenaque fumosis atria imaginibus;

Hinc

15

genethliacum.

- Hinc proavus stabit medijs animosus in armis,
 Impositoque premet sub pede colla ducum.
 35 Inde tuâ redivivus acu post funera vivet.
 Prima atavus reduci cum dabit arma Deo,

- Et spolia, exuviasque ducum, gladiosque, tubasque
 Sacrisque affiget signa relata tholis
 Hos inter Fernandus³⁶ erit, virtute nec armis
- 40 Degener, antiquis nobile numen avis.
 Illinc aurata galeae Mars luce coruscans
 Aurea pugnaci porriget arma manu.
 Inde triumphales texet Victoria lauros
 Ostendetque tuo quid paret illa Patri.
- 45 Expansisque super volitabit gloria pennis:
 Et Fernandiadae nuncia fama domus:
 In laeva Phrygio intextas Heroidas auro
 Aulacis referet porticus Attalicis.
 Hinc matres, veteresque nurus longo ordine stabunt
- 50 Adde sonum, digitis vivet imago tuis:
 Texticem laudabit opus, cum vivere credet
 Se natae genetrix tam bene picta manu:

Inde

16

illustrissimae marchionissae

- Inde puellarum praestanti corpore turbam
 Pictam cum titulis nominibusque dabis.
- 55 Gemma premet digitos, & longa monilia collum
 Ornabis positas, quâ decet, arte comas:
 Et circum intexto vestis spectabilis auro
 Subiectam longo syrmate verret humum.
 Illa geret cytharam manibus, feret altera plectrum,
- 60 Impressoque suum pollice tanget ebur.
 Sidereos illi vultus, huic frontis honorem,
 Huic tua colla dabis, purpureasque genas,
 Praeferet illa tuis similes in fronte capillos,
 Hanc Paphiam credes ore referre Deam.

- 65 Te quoque, virgo, tuas inter numerare memento
 Ne careat numero porticus illa suo:
 At tua prae reliquis titulo hoc signetur imago.
 Quem tibi subscriptum postera turba leget:
Omnia cum pinxit divina Palladis arte
 70 Non potuit vultus pingere virgo suos:
Materiam superabat opus, superaverat artem
Forma: suae primum tunc rudis artis erat.”

ele-

17

genethliacum.

elegia V

Charis

felicia omnia atque aurea
promittit.

- 1 Talia dicentem, et iam dicere plura volentem
 Impediit celeri voce secuta Charis:
 “Quanta, ait, Hesperias attollet gloria terras
Tarraçonaëa gloria nata domo!
 5 Macte animo generosa, tibi aurea saecula surgent,
 Optatique fluent & sine nube dies.
 Te Coca, te Doncos, dominam te dicet Orosco,
 Totaque se titulis iunget Ayala tuis.
 Submittentque suas turres tot & oppida & urbes
 10 Quae sic natali plaudere visa tuo:
 Ut tamen his titulo cedat, non cedit amore
Pitthemium, dominae dum cadet ante pedes.

Nec

C

illustrissimae marchionissae

- Nec satis haec: pleno secum in te prodiga cornu
 Totoque effundet sors sua dona sinu.
- 15 O quanta ominibus faustis connubia Iuno,
 Quot ferienda sibi foedera spondet Hymen!
 Optabit te quisque suam, petet alter, & alter,
 Ille tuos thalamos quaeret, & ille tuos.
 Felix, quisquis erit, tibi quem dignabere sponsum:
- 20 Multorum hîc referet vota que spemque ducum.
 Atque aliquis digito te designabit euntem,
 'Haec (referens), haec est mille petita viris.'
 Saepe negata, tamen, simul ac hunc vidit amavit,
 Et dixit: 'thalamis convenit ille meis.'
- 25 Vivat castus amor, tuque ô vive optima virgo
 Tam dilecta Deo, quam bene iuncta viro.
 Sic tibi sit sospes coniux, sint dulcia nati
 Pignora, perque sui facta parentis eant.
 Interea tu cresce precor; tibi plaudimus omnes;
- 30 Et favet auspicijs haec mea turba tuis".

ele-

genethliacum.elegia VIcalliope

praevis virtutum charitumque votis
sua adiungit.

- 1 Desierat. Cunae pariter cum voce quiescunt:
 Diva rapit mentem, lumina fessa sopor.

- Sint rata verba, precor, quae non sine numine Divum
 Fatidicae cunis his cecinere Deae.
 5 Auguror: eveniet: sua sunt praesagia vati:
 Sic velit his votis omen inesse Deus.
 Tu tamen interea vultu Fernande benigno
 Aspice, quae verus scribere iussit amor.
 Accipe quodcumque est, nec dura carmina fronte
 10 Perlege, sed menti conveniente tuae.
 Parva quidem (fateor) sunt haec mea munera, at ipsum
 Si posses animum cernere, quanta forent!
 Non hîc ingenium, sed agrestes aspice plausus,
 Est rude, at auctori convenit illud opus.

Rustica

C 2

20

illustrissimae marchionissae

- 15 Rustica turba sumus, satis est vel arundine carmen,
 Parva vel agresti perstrepuisse sono.
 Qualiacumque tamen, vel sic quoque carmina dicam,
 Teque canam siquid fistula nostra potest.
 Si licet, & pateris, tibi post maiora canemus.
 20 Stamina Parca, suas det modo Phoebus aquas.
 Tunc ego Maeonio consurgam carmine, & alto
 Commemorabo ducum praelia avita sono.
 Delatas referam lauros, proavûmque triumphos,
 Et Fonsecanae fortia facta domus
 25 Materiam primae tamen hîc ante omnia laudis
Virtus & Pietas, Religioque dabunt.
 Sed maiora meis modo viribus abnuît aetas,
 Conveniunt annis carmina quaeque suis:

v. 18 HB: caram.

v. 22 HB: Avita.

- Parvi parva canunt, à magnis magna petuntur,
 30 Ille suas vires novit, & ille suas.
 Quod potui, feci, pro factis grata voluntas
 Sit precor: in magnis vel voluisse sat est.
 Accipe primaevis quae carmina scripsimus annis
 Quidquid defuerit suppleat illud amor.

epi-

21

epigramma
ad
illustrissimam
elisabetham
de
puella nata

- 1 Dum paris, et tantos fers Elisabetha dolores,
 Est inter dubios lis gravis orta Deos.
 Mars puerum Phoebusque petit, Cytherea puellam:
 Huic Charites, illis iuncta Minerva favet.
 5 Jupiter Aetheria ridens despexit ab aula
 Et parti, ut potuit, favit utrique pater:
 Cui Venus arridens, si sim tibi filia, dixit:
 “Da, Pater, hoc oro, vincat ut una duos.”
 Annuit huic genitor: “sed te vicisse dolebis:
 10 Scilicet ut perdas vincere, nata, petis.

Et

- Et vinces perdesque simul, sed perdere malles:
 Vincere laus alias, hic pudor, inquit, erit.”
 Obstupuit Venus, atque animis haec saepe revolvens
 Verba Patris, dubij plena timoris erat.
- 15 Nata fuit virgo, nec falsus Iupiter augur:
 Iudice se vincit, perdit & ipsa Venus.
 Nam simul ac natam Superi videre puellam
 “Te, Venus — haec clamant — cedere forma iubet.”
 Erubuit Dea victa, dij risere, sed ipse
- 20 Hanc natam optavit Iupiter esse suam.

aliud
ad
ipsam puellam

Nascaris & tecum probitas, pietasque, pudorque
 Nascitur, esque tribus vix bene nata parens

ali- -

aliud
epigramma
in
filiae natae
pulchritudinem

- 1 Alma Venus quondam, comes & cum Pallade Juno
 Se, Pari, iudicio supposuere tuo.

v. 19 victâ HB victa *IJsewijn*.
 titulus HB: in in.

- Haec sperat, timet illa suae, timet altera formae
 Sed tamen haec palmam spondet & illa sibi.
 5 Ipse Paris dubitans nunc hanc, nunc adspicit illam
 Deque tribus nescit, quae magis una placet.
 Perge diu dubitare Pari: en venit altera tandem,
 Hanc simul ac cernes, praepositurus eris.
 Haec litem dirimet: victae vos cedite Divae,
 10 Palmam prae reliquis haec tribus una feret.

aliud

24

aliud
de eiusdem pulchritudine.

- 1 Dividit in multos dotes natura, sed omnes
 Unius infantis corpore clausit opes.
 Sive manus specto, tales optaret Iacchus,
 Sive comas, Phoebus diceret esse suas:
 5 Ora Venus, Thetis ipsa pedes, frontemque genasque
 Optarent Charites, Cypria turba, Déae
 Ergo quarta Charis, Thetis altera, & altera Cypris
 Haec erit una Charis addita Virgo tribus.

Ita accinebat
Ferdinandus Verbiest Pitthemiensis,
 Rhetor Collegii Cortraceni Societatis Iesu
Anno M. DC. XXXX.
ad maiorem dei gloriam.

Stella GEORGALA-PRIOVOLU

DOCUMENTI IN LATINO INEDITI (1813) DELL'ARCHIVIO DI LORD GUILFORD A CORFÙ

In Grecia dopo il periodo dell'occupazione turca, durante il quale il latino era sostanzialmente inesistente dato che la stessa lingua greca veniva insegnata ai ragazzi dal clero, l'unico luogo in cui veniva insegnato sistematicamente il latino fino al 1837, anno di fondazione dell'Università di Atene, era l'Accademia Ionica che operò dal 1824 al 1864 durante il Governo Britannico nelle isole dello Ionio e che fu il primo Istituto Universitario Greco.

Il conte Inglese Lord Federico North Guilford¹, fervente filelleno, fu nominato rettore dell'Università. Nacque a Londra nel 1766 ed ivi morì nel 1827. Crebbe in un ambiente prospero e di elevata cultura. Degna di ammirazione era la sua modestia; suo motto era il detto: *Nobilitas est sola et unica virtus*. Docente presso l'Università di Oxford Guilford conosceva l'italiano, il francese, lo spagnolo ed il tedesco. Educato fin da piccolo alla conoscenza di Omero e dei classici, aveva sempre sognato di dare tutto se stesso al servizio della rinascita dell'istruzione dei Greci. Egli stesso presentò una lista di studenti greci, da lui prescelti, proponendo che studiassero presso le Università di vari paesi — Inghilterra, Francia, Germania e Italia — al fine di divenire in seguito docenti presso l'Accademia Ionica.

L'Archivio di Guilford² a Corfù contiene un gran numero di lettere che ci danno un quadro completo delle azioni di Guilford atte a

¹ Art. "North, Frederick, fifth Earl of Guilford", *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 14 (1909), 609-611; G. e B. Salvanos, *L'Accademia Ionica e il fondatore Conte Guilford* (Atene 1949); A. Papadopulu-Vretù, *Il Conte Guilford e l'Accademia Ionica* (Atene 1846); G. Spatalà, "Il Conte Guilford", *Ελληνική Δημιουργία* B 31 (Atene 1949), 747-751; G.P. Henderson — F.K. Voru, *L'Accademia Ionica*. Centro ricerca e comunicazione internazionale "Accademia Ionica": Supplemento I (Corfù 1980); Stella Georgala-Priovolu, *Η λατινική στην Ιόνιο Ακαδημία. Άνέκδοτες μαρτυρίες από τό άρχείο Γκίλφοντ. Διδακτικά έγχειρίδια. Περιοδικό ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ. Παράρτημα Άρ. 8* (Atene 1989), cap. II, pp. 21-27.

² Dafni Kiriaki, *L'Archivio di Guilford a Corfù*. Associazione Letteraria di Corfù (Corfù 1984).

realizzare l'obiettivo da lui perseguito, la fondazione cioè dell'Università. Nell'epistolario di Guilford ci sono alcune lettere che testimoniano la fede di lui nel valore del latino per l'istruzione dei giovani in generale e non solo per gli studenti di filosofia, nonchè la sua conoscenza riguardo il rapporto del Latino sia con il greco antico e moderno che con la lingua italiana.

Un interesse particolare, però, presentano le lettere indirizzate a Guilford da diverse personalità di rilievo e viceversa. Queste lettere svelano i caratteri e tratteggiano l'ambiente culturale nel quale si muovevano gli intellettuali dell'epoca. Alcune di esse sono scritte in latino, fatto che dimostra sia il suo uso, allora, nella corrispondenza degli intellettuali, sia la conoscenza del latino da parte di Guilford e da parte di coloro che corrispondevano con lui.

Nell'Archivio di Guilford vengono custoditi in tutto sette documenti inediti scritti in latino. Pubblichiamo adesso il primo documento, dal punto di vista cronologico — una lettera di Guilford ad Athanasios Psalidas — con l'intento di fare più tardi lo stesso anche per gli altri documenti.

*

1.

*Lettera di Guilford ad Athanasios Psalidas, Corfù, 20 Aprile 1813.*³

Literas, mi Psalida⁽¹⁾, a te exaratas, quibus me nuper dignatus est Vesirius tuus⁽²⁾, grato admodum animo accepi, et valde gavisus sum ob nuntium quem mihi attulit Hollandus noster⁽³⁾ de optima salute tua, et de benignitate qua me absentem prosequeris.

Rediit iuvenis ille dilectissimus aliquantulum tristis, meque maiore affecit tristitia propter scripta quae tabellis suis commiserat, et quae inter equitationem miserrime perdidit.

Humanitatis mehercle tuae est, mi Psalida, in illorum indagationem pro virili parte incumbere, ne laboribus doctissimi iuvenis, quos publici iuris facere instituit, fraudetur Europa, ignoretque quam egregie de Vesirio sentiit, et de amicissimo meo Psalida, quem inter Graecos qui nunc bonis literis navantur operam optime πεπαιδευμένον valde demiratus est.

Maxime vero delectatus est opere tuo quod Ἐρωτος ἀποτελέσματα⁽⁴⁾ inscribitur, et mihi tantum legendi desiderium incussit⁽⁵⁾, ut te sollicitare non

³ Archivio Guilford di Corfù (Corfù 1984), Φ II 10.

desinam prius quam a te librum accepero. Obsecro te igitur, mi Psalida, ut exemplar aliquod mihi huc transmittas. Perquam libenter, quicquid e partibus nostris tibi gratum sit, offero; et responsum tuum diligenter exspecto interea.

Vale et memor sis tui amicissimi,

Zacynthi 20 Apr. 1813.

NOTE al testo.

(1) *Athanasios Psalidas*⁴ era un intellettuale greco e gran maestro della nazione greca. Nato a Ioannina nel 1767, morì a Lefkas nel 1829. Studiò letteratura greca e latina a Vienna, e fu tra i primi che introdussero in Grecia l'insegnamento del latino. Fu peraltro relatore di un nuovo metodo letterario per la traduzione dei testi antichi.

Aveva rapporti di amicizia con Ali Pascià, l'onnipotente e singolare Vezir dell'Epiro (ca. 1724 — 1822), il quale gli affidò diversi incarichi nelle isole dello Ionio, durante il protettorato russo; ciò giustifica anche il contenuto della lettera.

(2) Per dare un giudizio obiettivo circa *i rapporti esistenti tra Psalidas e Ali Pascià* dovremmo esaminare attentamente le condizioni di quel periodo. I Greci che allora erano impegnati in un immane sforzo di rinnovamento ed istruzione della nazione, chiedevano soltanto alcuni elementari presupposti riguardanti una giusta osservanza delle leggi ed una equa amministrazione, al fine di uno sviluppo economico e culturale.

In tal modo si giustifica sia il loro entusiasmo nei confronti del periodo prerivoluzionario caratterizzato da una giusta osservanza delle leggi e da una buona amministrazione dello stato di Ali Pascià, sia i tentativi dei patrioti greci di avere dei buoni rapporti con Ali, onde sfruttare il momento adatto ed ottenere il massimo risultato dalle condizioni favorevoli sussistenti.

Allora il Vezir dell'Epiro con il suo contraddittorio liberalismo aveva creato la possibilità di nuove speranze. I rapporti già esistenti tra Ali e Napoleone, preparazione in seguito del distacco dal governo centrale turco, creavano ogni volta nuove prospettive per la causa greca. Lo stesso Ali era sempre pronto ad adattarsi ad ogni tipo di nuove evoluzioni interne o internazionali.

Testi rappresentanti le tendenze dell'epoca e stampati allora, come *La Provincia Greca* ed *Il Dotto Ermete*, ribadiscono la stima dei Greci nei

⁴ L. Vranoussis, Ἀθανάσιος Ψαλίδας (Atene, Ediz. Epirotiki Estia, 1952).

confronti di Ali Pascià. Per quel che concerne l'atteggiamento disinteressato di Psalidas nei suoi rapporti con Ali Pascià, abbiamo l'espressa testimonianza del suo discepolo Cristoforo Filità che scriveva: "Psalidas buonanima, maestro di professione, viveva soltanto dal suo stipendio; nessuna retribuzione percepiva da Ali Pascià se non sporadicamente, quando, in quanto conoscitore della lingua, veniva spedito (dallo stesso Ali per missioni che lo riguardavano) presso i Russi che occupavano le Isole Ionie."⁵

Rapporti tra Psalidas e Guilford: Le azioni patriottiche di Psalidas a Corfù non potevano sfuggire all'attenzione delle autorità inglesi occupanti le Isole Ionie. Queste avevano dichiarato neutralità rigorosa, che il governatore Th. Maitland, desideroso di aiutare l'impero del Sultano, aveva trasformata in atteggiamento ostile nei confronti dei rivoluzionari greci. In questo modo, Psalidas non rimase indisturbato e molte volte fece uso delle sue conoscenze altolocate per evitare le conseguenze del suo agire temerario. Quando Psalidas si rifugiò a Corfù — nel 1822 — venne ben accolto dal governatore Lord Adam, sotto-governatore e sostituto di Maitland. La figura del filelleno Lord Guilford dominava la vita culturale del luogo.

Un'amicizia di lunga data univa Psalidas a Guilford che ammirava il "savio" di Ioannina e chiedeva di poter ottenere le sue opere. Secondo una informazione contraria però, riferita da L. Vranoussis⁶, il magnate Guilford non nutriva nei suoi confronti alcuna stima, anzi lo detestava a causa della sua franchezza che giustificava — secondo l'osservazione dei suoi nemici — il soprannome di Psalidas, cioè venditore di forbici.

Quello che è più probabile — dice in seguito lo stesso Vranoussis — è che il sentimento di Guilford non cambiò, nè andò scemando la vecchia stima che nutriva per Psalidas. Le azioni patriottiche di Psalidas a Corfù e il suo agire, chiaramente fuorilegge riguardo al regime vigente nelle Isole Ionie, creò certamente difficoltà e spesso situazioni difficili persino agli stessi suoi amici. D'altra parte le autorità delle Isole Ionie affrontavano con sospetto Psalidas dato che era noto dal passato come amico dei Russi, e appariva da sempre come simpatizzante dei Francesi, di idee cioè rivoluzionarie.

Nell'Accademia Ionia, la prima università greca, creazione dello stesso Guilford, Psalidas non fu nominato professore, malgrado lo

⁵ S. Arauandinos, *Ali Pascià — Documenti inediti* (Atene 1895), p. 475, nota.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

stupore generale, e ottenne soltanto la nomina ad insegnante *honoris causa*. La spiegazione più probabile è stata data da un suo contemporaneo: “ Quando Psalidas arrivò a Corfù, l’antipatia dell’Inghilterra nei confronti della lotta greca era giunta all’apice. Tutte le Isole Ionie erano simpatizzanti dei Russi. Psalidas che veniva considerato un’ autorità, e quanto da lui formulato era ritenuto ”sentenza“, era apertamente ostile alla politica inglese e favorevole a quella russa, e ciò perché tutto quello che riguardava l’istruzione greca ai tempi della schiavitù, veniva sostenuto solamente dai connazionali arricchitisi in Russia.”⁷

(3) *Henry Holland*, medico inglese e viaggiatore (Knutsford/Cheshire 1788 — Londra 1873)⁸. Durante gli anni 1812 e 1813 visitò diversi paesi e l’Epiro; si recò anche da Ali Pascià a Ioannina. La sua opera dal titolo *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia During the Years 1812 e 1813* fu pubblicata a Londra nel 1815 e nel 1819, e riporta informazioni interessanti riguardo ad Ali Pascià e la situazione greca di allora.

Holland stimava ed ammirava particolarmente Athanasios Psalidas e riferiva in modo caratteristico quanto segue: “ Psalidas non è soltanto un erudito, ma riesce anche ad esprimersi con abilità ed eleganza. Parla perfettamente il greco antico e moderno, l’italiano, il francese, il tedesco ed il russo. Arringa con vivacità e forza su argomenti riguardanti l’arte, la scienza, la letteratura ed in particular modo sulla sua gloriosa patria, la Grecia.”⁹

Come riferisce Vranoussis, Psalidas subito dopo la conoscenza con questo viaggiatore straniero iniziò a formulare le sue lamentele riguardo all’ingratitude degli stati europei, l’indifferenza e la crudeltà dell’Europa, la quale deve la sua cultura, il progresso e la sua esistenza alla Grecia, che allora chiedeva il suo aiuto per schiacciare il giogo della schiavitù. Le argomentazioni di Psalidas suscitarono grande impressione sul suo interlocutore inglese come il medesimo riferisce nel suo libro.

(4) Un connazionale che si occupava di editoria, il Cipriota Ioannis Karatzas, riconobbe nella persona di Psalidas un prezioso collaboratore. Frutto della loro collaborazione era anche il libro anonimo “Ερωτος ἀποτελέσματα, “I risultati dell’amore” (1792), considerato

⁷ A. B., “Su Athanasios Psalidas”, *Εστία*, anno IV, tomo vii (1879), 203-204.

⁸ “Holland Henry”, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 9 (1908), 1038-1039.

⁹ Vranoussis, *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

“precursore” agli albori della vitale letteratura del suo tempo. I tre racconti erotici contenuti nel libro sono le prime narrazioni neo-elleniche che affrontano tematiche assunte dalla vita sociale dell'epoca. Questo libro con la sua originalità ed arricchito inoltre da “canzoni politiche” costituiva la prima antologia neogreca che venne stampata. La libera lettura “per lo spasso ed il divertimento della gioventù nobile” come riferito nel sottotitolo, era un nuovo tipo di libro, ispirato anche da idee audaci per quei tempi. Fu stampato e ristampato cinque volte dal 1792 al 1836.¹⁰ Una copia dell' edizione veneziana del 1812, alla quale si riferisce anche la lettera di Guilford, fu offerta dal Psalidas al medico inglese Holland, quando quest'ultimo visitò l'Epiro.¹¹

(5) il verbo *incussit* è stato trascritto erroneamente *incupit* tanto da S.D. Krinos, *op. cit.* (v. nota 11) come pure da L. Vranoussis¹² che citano nelle loro opere brani di circa quattro righe delle lettera del Guilford.

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¹⁰ L. Vranoussis, “Athanasios Psalidas”, *Vocabolario Biografico Mondiale*, t. 10 (Atene 1989), pp. 486-488.

¹¹ S.D. Krinos, “Α. Ψαλίδας”, *Ἑστία*, anno IV, tomo vii, numero 167 (Marzo 1879), p. 146, n. 1

¹² *Op. cit.* (v. nota 4), p. 96.

MISCELLANEA

1.

José RUYSSCHAERT

L'Éloge de Bartolomeo Platina dans le poème de Robert Flemming

La présence dans les *Lucubrationum Tiburtinarum* du protonotaire anglais Robert Flemming d'un éloge de Platina n'a pas paru exceptionnelle dans les études qui ont été consacrées à ce poème¹. Et pourtant dans ce poème cet éloge est le seul qui concerne un personnage étranger à la famille pontificale. En outre, si les éloges de douze neveux de Sixte IV figurent dans le livre II du poème, celui de Platina est le seul qui apparaît dans le livre I du poème consacré au Pape.

Si les modernes — nous-même parmi eux — n'ont pas insisté sur le caractère de cette présence dans le poème, par contre un curialiste romain, resté prudemment anonyme, décida, peu après le décès de Platina survenu en 1480, d'expurger du poème cet éloge qu'il estimait abusif. Il prépara un corrigé du texte. Disparut complètement la mention de Platina, remplacé par un bibliothécaire anonyme. Robert Flemming avait fait imprimer son poème à Rome. Le volume sortit des presses le 5 décembre 1477, peu avant le retour à Lincoln de Flemming qui y décéda en 1483. La version expurgée est conservée dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne.

Pour rendre moins évidente son intervention le réviseur recourut à deux astuces métriquement fort simples. D'une part, comme l'a re-

¹ Concernant le poème de Robert Flemming on consultera particulièrement A. Campana, "Le 'Lucubrationum Tiburtinarum' de Robert Flemming", *Strenna dei Romanisti* 9 (1948), 88-98; J. Ruysschaert, "La fondation de la Bibliothèque Vaticane en 1475 et les témoignages contemporains", dans: *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi* (Florence 1973), pp. 413-420; J. IJsewijn, "Robert Flemming and Bartolomeo Platina or the Need of Critical Editions", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 34A [= *Roma humanistica. Studia in honorem... J. Ruysschaert*] (1985), 76-82: on y trouvera une confrontation entre le texte imprimé de 1477 et la revision manuscrite; F. Cairns, "The 'Lucubrationum Tiburtinarum' of Robert Flemming", *Hum. Lovan.* 30 (1990), 54-66.

marqué en 1985 J. IJsewijn, il transforma en douze années les six premières du pontificat de Sixte IV, auxquelles l'auteur avait déclaré se limiter. Il lui a suffi d'éliminer un *bis ter* au profit d'un *bis sex*. D'autre part, il mit deux fois la mention du *protonotarius Anglicus* à l'abri d'un *quidam protonotarius*. Tout cela se fit maladroitement. Non seulement le réviseur omit de supprimer l' *Anglia* native de l'auteur, comme l'a relevé en 1948 A. Campana, mais il confia aussi à son copiste l'exemplaire corrigé de l'imprimé dans lequel subsistait intacte la date du 5 décembre 1477. A entreprise médiocre procédés médiocres. A dire vrai, réduite à un seul manuscrit, l'entreprise avorta.

Il reste que cette révision en expurgeant l'éloge de Platina est un précieux témoin du caractère exceptionnel de la présence de ce dernier dans le poème pour une curie qui, pour une part, se souvenait peut-être aussi des avatars qu'avait connus Platina sous Paul II. Et on peut se demander le motif qui a poussé ce partisan anglais de Sixte IV, qui après avoir été à Ferrare un des plus brillants élèves de Guarino de Vérone, avait été amené à prendre pareille position dans une curie qu'il fréquentait depuis longtemps.

Observons d'abord qu'en traitant, dans son éloge, de la nouvelle bibliothèque et de son responsable, Flemming présente les deux salles ouvertes au public, la latine et la grecque, comme parfaitement aménagées: elles sont peintes, meublées et remplies de manuscrits. C'est dire que Flemming a vu cette bibliothèque ouverte au public ou, en tout cas, préparée à l'être. Nous sommes donc en 1477, comme nous l'avions déjà observé en 1973. A ce moment la fresque de Melozzo da Forlì, commencée en janvier 1477, était déjà achevée, comme la décrit dans son poème italien le notaire Antonio de' Tomeis². Flemming a donc pu, lui aussi, voir cette fresque dans laquelle cinq des neveux de Sixte IV, dont deux cardinaux, entouraient le Pape et Platina agenouillé devant Lui. Flemming n'était pas sans savoir que la fresque avait été peinte, aux frais du Pape, par son peintre officiel et évidemment, étant donnés les personnages, suivant des directives pontificales bien explicitées.

En fait, devant cette fresque Flemming se trouvait non seulement

² Concernant la Bibliothèque Vaticane et la fresque de Melozzo da Forlì voir J. Ruysschaert, "Le fresque de Melozzo da Forlì de l'ancienne Bibliothèque Vaticane. Réexamen", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 4 (1990), 329-341; Id., "Les 'Lucubratiunculæ Tiburtinae' de Robert Flemming et la Bibliothèque Vaticane en 1477", *M.B.A.V.* 6 (1992), sous presses.

autorisé, mais invité à en répercuter l'effet dans son poème commencé à Tivoli en 1473. Notons d'abord que le cardinal Pietro Riario, décédé en 1474, est toujours présent en 1477, aussi bien dans la fresque que dans le poème. Relevons ensuite que, si dans le livre II du poème, douze neveux du Pape sont loués, rangés dans l'ordre des rameaux familiaux, l'ampleur des louanges qui sont décernées à chacun d'eux, place les Riario aux premières places, le défunt cardinal Pietro Riario étant célébré en cent vers et Girolamo Riario en cent trois. Nous venons de souligner la survivance, dans la fresque comme dans le poème, du cardinal Riario. Ajoutons maintenant après la restauration récente de la fresque, que Girolamo Riario apparaît comme l'instigateur de l'élimination dans la fresque d'un des cinq neveux du Pape, Antonio Basso Della Rovere, après son décès survenu en 1480.

L'insertion de l'éloge de Platina dans le poème de Robert Flemming nous semble ainsi répercuter les influences prépondérantes durant les premières années du pontificat de Sixte IV. Deux témoins, l'un poétique, l'autre artistique, se rencontrent ainsi grâce à l'intérêt de deux recherches, comme des chercheurs dans une bibliothèque.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

Walther LUDWIG

FICINO IN WÜRTTEMBERG — EIN GEDICHT
VON NICOLAUS REUSNER

*Paul Oskar Kristeller
in Dankbarkeit*

Der Humanist Nicolaus Reusner (1545-1602) schrieb an den herzoglich württembergischen Rat Melchior Jäger von Gärtringen (1544-1611, geadelt von Kaiser Rudolf II. 1582)¹ folgendes Gedicht in catullischen Hendekasyllaben².

- Quid sit vivere, Melchior, beate,
pulcre Marsilius docet Ficusus.
Primum noscere vera sit; secundum
consultare bene; atque tertium sit
5 semper velle bonum; bonumque quartum,
quod vis, hoc agere. Absoluta virtus
constat quattuor hisce rebus omnis,
prudens ut sapiensque sis et una
iustus perpetuoque perseverans.
10 Qui sic vivit, homo beatus ille
vivit; qui secus, ille non homo, sed
turpis bestia iure nominatur.

¹ Vgl. zu diesen beiden Personen und ihrem Verhältnis zueinander W. Ludwig, "Die poetischen Beschreibungen des Herzogtums Württemberg durch Hugo Favolinus und Nikolaus Reusner", *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 36 (1977), 1979, S. 96-113 (= ders., *Litterae Neolatinae*, herausgegeben von L. Braun u.a., München 1989, S. 145-159); zu Melchior Jäger von Gärtringen s. W. Bernhardt, *Die Zentralbehörden des Herzogtums Württemberg und ihre Beamten 1520-1629* (Stuttgart 1972), Bd. 1, S. 402-405, und F.F. Faber, *Württembergische Familienstiftungen*, Neudruck mit Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen von A. Rentschler (Stuttgart 1940 ff.), Nr. 69 C & 16.

² N. Reusner, *Operum pars tertia continens epigrammatum libros XXIV ... quibus accessit epigrammatum Graecorum liber singularis* (Jena 1593), S. 37, *Ad Melchiorum Jaegerum a Graetingen (sic!), consil(iarium) Wirteberg(ensem)*. Die Interpunktion des Gedichts wurde modernisiert.

Reusner schrieb dies nach 1583, als Jäger von Gärtringen zum herzoglichen Rat ernannt wurde, vermutlich nach dem 2. Februar 1586, als er Geheimer Rat von Adel und Direktor der Hofkanzlei, und damit einer der beiden höchsten Landesbeamten wurde, und vor Ende 1588, als Reusner selbst einen Ruf auf eine Professur in Jena bekam, dem er folgte³. Er hatte 1583 in Basel den juristischen Doktorgrad erworben und war dann bis 1588 Professor in Straßburg. In dieser Zeit pflegte er gute Beziehungen zum württembergischen Herzog und zu einigen seiner leitenden Beamten und schickte ihnen mehrere lateinische Gedichte, wohl in der Hoffnung, sich für ein attraktives Amt im Herzogtum Württemberg zu empfehlen.

Das zitierte Gedicht ist eine poetische Paraphrase eines Briefes von Ficino, den Reusner aus der im Jahr 1576 in Basel gedruckten Ausgabe von dessen *Opera* kannte:⁴

Quid est bene vivere. Marsilius Ficinus Hieronymo Pasqualino suo S. d. Quaeris, quid sit bene vivere. Utilius quaeri nihil potest. Est autem bene vivere verum intelligere, consultare bene, velle bonum, agere bona. Primum sapientiae est, secundum prudentiae, tertium iustitiae, quartum perseverantiae. Primum a Deo est, secundum a primo, tertium a Deo simul atque homine, quartum est a tertio. Qui ita vivunt, vivunt homines; qui vivunt aliter, animalia vivunt. Vale ac vive homo!

Einen Prosatext poetisch zu paraphrasieren, war allgemein eine legitime poetische Bemühung. In diesem Fall hatte Reusner darüber hinaus ein bestimmtes poetisches Modell vor Augen, dem er in der Form folgte, um sich im Inhalt von ihm abzusetzen. Unter Martials Epigrammen findet sich ein hendekasyllabisches, in dem er aufzählt, was für ihn eine *vita beata* ausmacht und zu dem Domitius Calderinus in einem im fünf- und sechzehnten Jahrhundert mehrfach gedruckten Kommentar bemerkte: *ex sententia Epicuri haec scribit*⁵. Es lautet:⁶

³ Näheres s. W. Ludwig, wie Anm. 1.

⁴ *Marsilii Ficini Florentini, insignis philosophi Platonici, medici atque theologi clarissimi Opera* ... (Basel 1576, Nachdruck Turin 1962), S. 644. Die Interpunktion wurde modernisiert.

⁵ Hier zitiert nach der Ausgabe *Martialis cum duobus commentis* (Venedig 1503), Bl. CXI.

⁶ Mart., *Epigr.* X 47. Der Wortlaut des Textes in der Ausgabe von W.M. Lindsay (Oxford 1929), und in der in Anm. 5 zitierten Ausgabe ist identisch.

- Vitam quae faciant beatiorum,
iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt:
res non parta labore, sed relictæ;
non ingratus ager, focus perennis;
5 lis numquam, toga rara, mens quieta;
vires ingenuae, salubre corpus;
prudens simplicitas, pares amici;
convictus facilis, sine arte mensa;
nox non ebria, sed soluta curis;
10 non tristis torus et tamen pudicus;
somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras;
quod sis, esse velis nihilque malis;
summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

Dies war ein beliebtes und oft zitiertes Epigramm⁷. Reusner kontrastiert Martials als Epikuräismus verstandene Güterlehre mit dem durch Ficino vermittelten Platonismus innerhalb der überkommenen Form, zu der nicht nur das Versmaß gehört, sondern auch Elemente des Aufbaus (jeweils dienen V. 1-2 der mit der Anrede verbundenen Themenangabe; in V. 3ff. beginnt die Aufzählung) und der wohl absichtlich beinahe gleiche Umfang zählen (Reusner zog die geheiligte Zwölfzahl den 13 Versen Martials vor). Unter dem Einfluß von Martials *beatiorum* am Ende von V. 1 scheint Reusner an analoger Stelle *beate* gewählt zu haben statt des von Ficino in seinem Brief verwendeten *bene*, das er an anderer Versstelle auch hätte verwenden können. Den Martial gefallenden Annehmlichkeiten stellt Reusner, den auch die protestantische Ethik bestimmt, die Bemühung um die "vollkommene" *virtus* gegenüber (er hat den Begriff absichtlich betont in die Mitte des Gedichts, ans

⁷ Zwei unbekannte Beispiele: (1.) Ein in Privatbesitz befindliches Exemplar der Anm. 5 zitierten Ausgabe, das aus dem süd-deutschen Raum stammt (auf der Titelseite handschriftlich eingetragen: *Ex bibliotheca Melchioris Gschwind Friburgensis domus sapientiae alumni, qui peste obiit Non. Novemb. anno Dni. 1526*; vgl. *Melchior Gschwind de Friburgo* immatrikuliert Freiburg im Breisgau 1521, Bacc. art. 1525), zeigt neben dem angestrichenen Epigramm X 47 die handschriftliche Marginalnotiz *Que faciunt vitam beatam* (vermutlich vom gleichen Schreiber). (2.) Eine gleichfalls in Privatbesitz befindliche Ausgabe der *Opera omnia* des Petrus Lotichius Secundus, Leipzig 1586, die auf dem Einband die geprägten Initialen *P C W* und die Jahreszahl 1590 zeigt (*Paulus Collinus Weyerensis* aus Oberösterreich immatrikuliert Wittenberg 1591), enthält auf einem der am Ende beigegebenen leeren Blätter eine handschriftliche Eintragung des sich von Paulus Collinus (Higgl) aus Weier verabschiedenden Melchior Chunius (Kuhn) aus Neuburg an der Donau (immatrikuliert Wittenberg 1589) mit folgendem Wortlaut: *Doctrina et moribus exculcto adolescenti d(omi)no Paulo Collino Austriaco hoc sui mnemósynon Witebergæ abiturienti reliquit Melchior Chunius Neoburg(ensis) Palatinus. A(nn)o 1593, Calendis Iulii*. Über und unter diesen Text schrieb Chunius drei klassische Dichterzitate: Hor., *Carm.* II 10,13-18 (*erit*), Mart., *Epigr.* X 47,12 (!), und Tib., *El.* III 5,31 f.

Ende von V. 6 gesetzt). Die vier Einzeltugenden sind hier in leichter Variation zu den gewohnten platonischen *sapientia*, *prudentia*, *iustitia* und *perseverantia*. Letztere wird in den von Ficino übersetzten pseudo-platonischen *Definitiones* als *affectio, quae perficit, quodcumque elegerit, id est tolerantia voluntaria, adversus labores inconcussus habitus* definiert⁸.

Ob und wie viel Jäger von Gärtringen, der 1560 in Tübingen studiert hatte, in den *Opera* Ficinos gelesen hat, ist unbekannt. Der Name und das Ansehen dieses Philosophen müssen ihm zumindest vertraut gewesen sein, und Reusner, dessen Ficino-Lektüre ausgedehnter gewesen sein dürfte, konnte erwarten, ihn mit dieser auf den Platoniker gegründeten ersten Lebensregel zu erfreuen und zugleich für seine Person einen guten Eindruck bei ihm zu machen. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß Jäger von Gärtringen auch die Folie wahrnahm, das bekannte Epigramm Martials, und daß er so die von Reusner vertretene Lebens-einstellung auf dem Hintergrund der von Martial gezeichneten würdigen konnte. Auf diese Weise wurde ein Gedankengang der platonistischen Ethik Ficinos einem hohen württembergischen Regierungsbeamten gegen Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nahegebracht. Das ihm zunächst handschriftlich übersandte Gedicht wurde natürlich auch von Freunden und Bekannten des Adressaten in Stuttgart gelesen. Daß er die humanistische Bildung schätzte, beweisen im übrigen nicht nur die relativ zahlreichen Gedichte, die Reusner ihm widmete, dafür spricht auch der Umstand, daß er seinen gleichnamigen Sohn Melchior Jäger von Gärtringen zum Studium nach Italien schickte (immatrikuliert in Siena 1594; er starb schon 1603 in Speyer)⁹.

Durch die Aufnahme des Epigramms in Reusners 1593 in Jena gedruckte *Opera* gelangte das Gedicht dann zur Kenntnis eines weiteren Leserkreises und fand, wie Unterstreichungen beweisen, wegen seines sentenziösen moralphilosophischen Inhalts anscheinend öfters Beachtung¹⁰. In Martials Epigramm und Reusners Gegengedicht hatte man

⁸ *Opera*, wie Anm. 4, S. 1963.

⁹ S.W. Pfeilsticker, *Neues Württembergisches Dienerbuch* (Stuttgart, 1957-1974), 3. Bd., S. 393 § 1207, und F.F. Faber, wie Anm. 1.

¹⁰ Ein in Privatbesitz befindliches Exemplar von N. Reusner, *Operum pars tertia*, wie Anm. 2, das laut Jahreszahl auf dem Einband 1626 gebunden wurde (Initialen: *I B G V*) und laut Eintragung auf der Titelseite 1633 den Besitzer wechselte (*Ex Bibliotheca Caspari Krätschmaris possidet me Johannes Brendel Anno 1633*), zeigt die Verse dieses Epigramms mit Tinte unterstrichen. Falls Reusner das Epigramm schon in seine Ausgabe *Epigrammatum libri XXV*, Straßburg 1588, aufgenommen hat, ergäbe sich eine schon frühere

zwei unterschiedliche Antworten zu der die Menschen immer wieder beschäftigenden Frage, *quid sit bene beateque vivere*.

Universität Hamburg

Publizität (die nicht eingesehene Ausgabe wird in Zedlers Universallexicon Bd. 31, Sp. 965, zitiert). Wie sehr Reusner selbst für die Verbreitung seiner Werke bei hochstehenden Persönlichkeiten sorgte, zeigt seine handschriftliche Widmung auf dem Vorsatzblatt eines in Privatbesitz befindlichen Exemplars des ersten Bandes seiner Werke (*Operum pars prima*, Jena 1593): *Illustrissimo celsissimoque Principi ac Domino D. Ludovico Landgravio Hassiae, Principi clementissimo, obsequii fidelis ergo d. d. N. Reusnerus D.*

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM

NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, M. de Schepper

Appellatio ad auctores.

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Septembribus anni 1992.

SIGLA:

- ARG** = *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh)
BHR = *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (Genève).
GSLI = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino)
HL = *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Leuven)
HPMA = *Historia Philosophiae Medi Aevi*: vide sub 1. 6: Scientifica.
HRMC = J.A. Sánchez Marín - M. López Muñoz (edd.), *Humanismo Renacentista y Mundo Clásico* (E-28029 Madrid, Ediciones Clásicas: Magnolias 9, bajo izda, 1991).
IMU = *Italia medioevale e umanistica* (Milano)
JMRS = *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Durham, N.C.)
JWCI = *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (London)
RIN = *Rinascimento* (Firenze)
RnR = *Roma nel Rinascimento* (Roma)
RPL = *Respublica Litterarum* (Lawrence, Kansas)
RQ = *Renaissance Quarterly* (New York)
RS = *Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies* (Oxford)
SCJ = *Sixteenth Century Journal* (U of Missouri, Columbia)
WBN = *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* (Wiesbaden)
WRM = *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* (Wiesbaden)

ABBREVIATIONES:

- ACNTor** = *Acta Conventus Neolatini Torontonensis. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Toronto 8 Aug. to 13 Aug. 1988, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* (Binghamton, N.Y., SUNY, 1991).
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INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesauro Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et recentioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notavimus.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Abiturire = <i>to be leaving</i> : p. 334 | Christias = <i>Christendom</i> : p. 243 |
| Accursisequus = <i>a disciple of Accursius</i> : p. 26, 44 | Coadiuvā = <i>assistant</i> : p. 35 |
| Ambulonocturnus = <i>a nightwalker</i> : p. 266, v. 205 | Convenari = <i>to go in search for, to hunt</i> : p. 37, 31 |
| Anglochresticola = <i>a christian of England</i> : p. 266 v. 227 | Cosmographicus = <i>cosmographical</i> : p. 146 |
| Arisototus = <i>from Aarschot (in Brabant)</i> : p. 211 | Cyparissinus = <i>of cypress wood</i> : p. 154 |
| Aulice (vivere) = <i>(to live) as a courtier</i> : p. 22, 28 | *Decanatus, -us = <i>deanery</i> : p. 65, 15; 66, 23 |
| Auraicus = <i>of Orange</i> : p. 211 | Divipara = <i>God's mother</i> : p. 256, v. 31 |
| Berettum = <i>birretum, barret</i> : p. 184 | Doctoratus, -us = <i>doctor's degree</i> : p. 202 |
| Brutigena = <i>Briton</i> : p. 272, v. 310 | Ducalis = <i>ducal</i> : p. 183 |
| Cacodaemon = <i>devil, demon</i> : p. 81, 130; p. 258, v. 61; p. 268, v. 260; p. 274, v. 357 | Fenestratus calceus = <i>sandal</i> : p. 238 |
| Cardinalitium prandium = <i>lunch with a Cardinal</i> : p. 27 | *Feuda (pl.) = <i>feudal law</i> : p. 202 |
| *Carnisprivium = <i>Shrovetide, Lent</i> : p. 14, 35 | *Glossatus = <i>with glosses (jur.)</i> : p. 33, 63 |
| Chorographicus = <i>topographical</i> : p. 146; p. 150 | *Iecoreum mare = <i>"Lebersee"</i> : p. 140 |
| | Iesuiticus = <i>of the Jesuits</i> : p. 227 |

- Iurisconsulte (adv.) = *juridically*: p. 27, 79
 Irisconsultice (adv.) = *juridically*: p. 57, 93
 Iurisconsulticum = *a decree*: p. 33, 61
 Iurisconsulticus (adj.) = *juridical*: p. 34, 80
 *Landgravius (Hassiae) = *landgrave (of Hessen)*: p. 336
 Lector = *Elector (in Germany)*: p. 37, 39
 *Marchio = *Marquess*: p. 308
 *Marchionissa = *Marchioness*: p. 307; p. 308
 Mavortigena = *Son of Mars*: p. 237
 Mendaciolum = *a (little) lie*: p. 65, 7
 Nitratus pulvis = *gunpowder*: p. 242
 Obdurus = *hard*: p. 276, v. 403
 *Obstipare = *to annoy*: p. 22, 15
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 *Parliamentum = *Parliament*: p. 222; p. 254
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HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
(JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES)

Ed. Prof. Dr. J. IJSEWIJN

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